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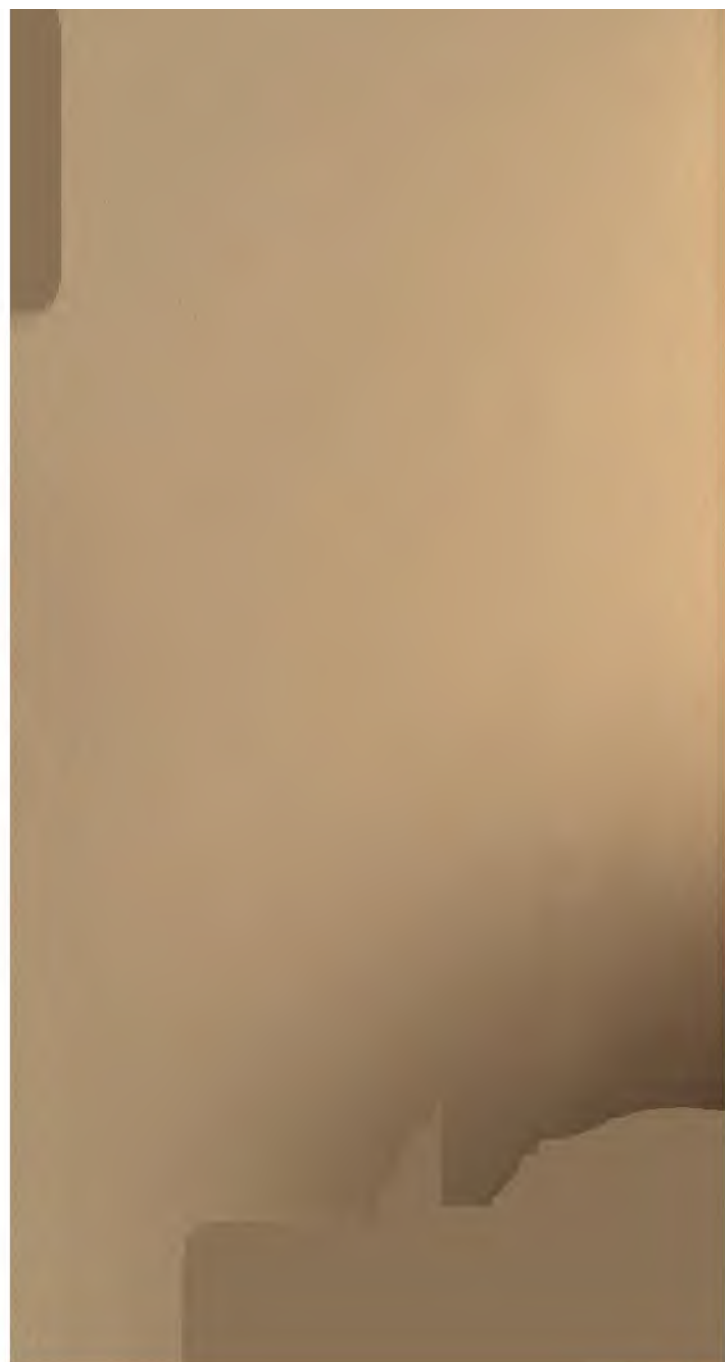
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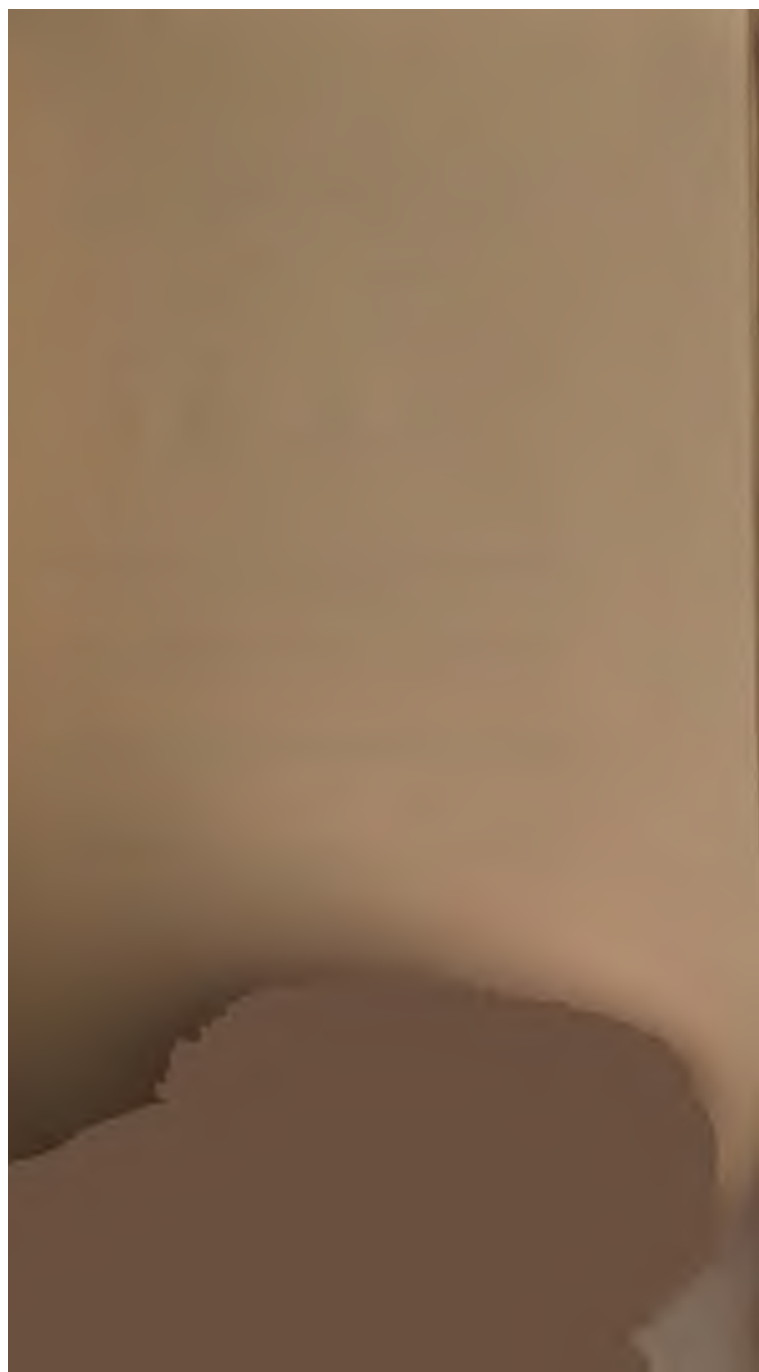
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ANCIENT HISTORY,

ENGLISH AND FRENCH,

EXEMPLIFIED IN A REGULAR DISSECTION OF THE

**Saxon Chronicle;**

PRECEDED BY

A REVIEW OF WHARTON'S UTRUM ELFRICUS  
GRAMMATICUS?

MALMESBURY'S LIFE OF ST. WULSTAN.

AND

HUGO CANDIDUS' PETERBOROUGH HISTORY:

WHEREIN

THE PRINCIPAL SAXON ANNALISTS ARE NOW (FOR THE  
FIRST TIME) IDENTIFIED.

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LONDON :

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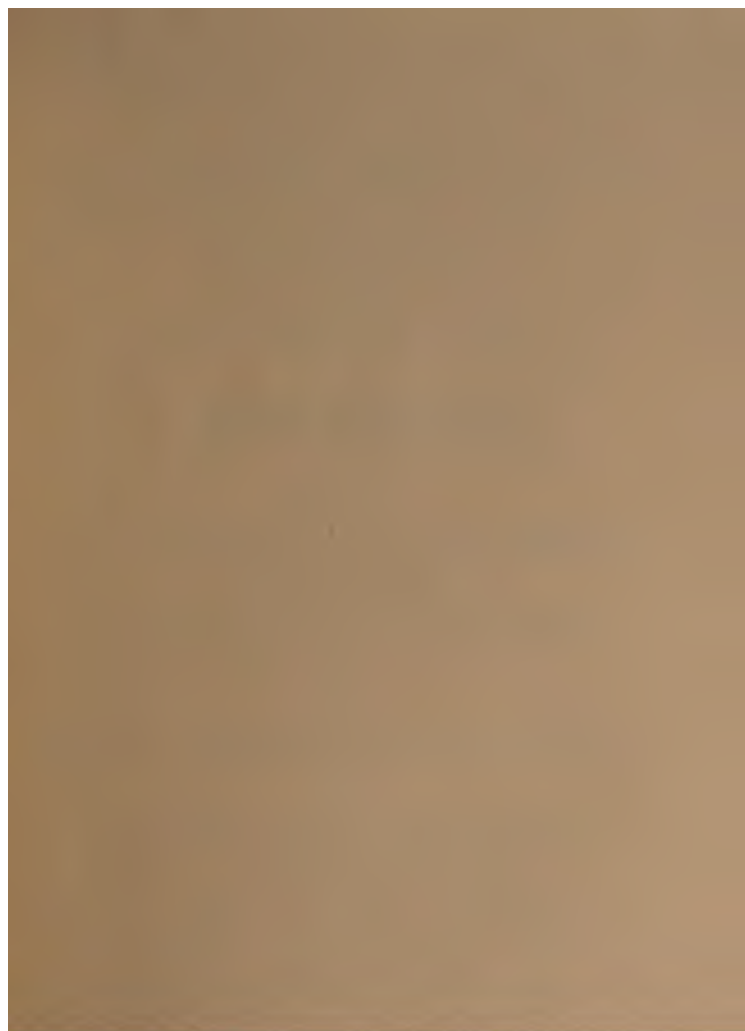
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the course of your Lordship's business, an instance of your attention to *Saxon Literature*.

*For the book itself* I am free to say that the *subject* involves the national character, and is here treated with novelty and some success. Hitherto many of the most celebrated pens have prosecuted this same inquiry and have entirely failed, which mine has not.

With the best wishes for your Lordship's health, I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

*St. Paul's Churchyard,*

14 July, 1830.

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talent, during the last three centuries, the question seems to be abandoned as desperate. For I cannot think *Mr. Ingram*, the last professed inquirer, has added any thing to the information we had before, though he was occupied for many years in re-editing the work and elucidating its history; but his want of success is best to be seen in his own words.

“The *Benet MS.*, which some call the *Plegmund MS.*, ends anno 1070. From *internal evidence* of an indirect nature, there is great reason to presume that archbishop PLEGMUND *transcribed or superintended* this very copy of the Saxon Annals to the year 891, the year in which he came to the see. *Wanley* observes it is written in one and the same hand to this year, and in hands equally ancient to the year 924, after which it is continued in different hands to the end.”

After assigning a reason, (*not very satisfactory*,) whence we are to suppose that *Alfred* might contribute, he thus proceeds:

“From the time of *Alfred* and *Plegmund* to a few years after the *Norman Conquest*, these Chronicles seem to have been continued by different hands under the auspices of such men as the archbishops *Dunstan*, *Alfric*, and others. The indirect evidence respecting *Dunstan* and *Alfric* is as curious as that concerning *Plegmund*; but the discussion of it would lead us into a wide and

TO THE

RT. HON. LORD CARRINGTON.

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IF I had no other reason for inscribing this volume to your Lordship it would be sufficient that I have received various little favours at one time or other which I am not disposed to forget, though bestowed on my deceased Master's account, the late Mr. A.

But I am *partly* induced by the hope that the book may fare the better under the influence of your Lordship's name.

Nor is this Dedication in *other* respects inappropriate, because I remember, in



the course of your Lordship's business, an instance of your attention to *Saxon Literature*.

*For the book itself* I am free to say that the *subject* involves the national character, and is here treated with novelty and some success. Hitherto many of the most celebrated pens have prosecuted this same inquiry and have entirely failed, which mine has not.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN consequence of having noticed a few important errors in *Gunton* and *Patrick's History of Peterborough*, a new history was lately undertaken by the Author of this volume, from the *Restoration* under *Edgar* to the *Conquest* ; with a Supplement down to the final subjugation of *Hereward*.

It was one material part of that undertaking to inquire *particularly who* were the authors of the *Saxon Chronicle*, some or one of whom seemed to have been monks of *Peterborough*.

It is not my intention to enlarge either upon the merits of the *Chronicle* itself, or upon the failure of all former attempts to ascertain the authors : it is enough to say, that after having engrossed a vast quantity of labour, time, and

talent, during the last three centuries, the question seems to be abandoned as desperate. For I cannot think *Mr. Ingram*, the last professed inquirer, has added any thing to the information we had before, though he was occupied for many years in re-editing the work and elucidating its history ; but his want of success is best to be seen in his own words.

“The *Benet MS.*, which some call the *Plegmund MS.*, ends anno 1070. From *internal evidence* of an indirect nature, there is great reason to presume that archbishop PLEGMUND *transcribed or superintended* this very copy of the Saxon Annals to the year 891, the year in which he came to the see. *Wanley* observes it is written in one and the same hand to this year, and in hands equally ancient to the year 924, after which it is continued in different hands to the end.”

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“From the time of *Alfred* and *Plegmund* to a few years after the *Norman Conquest*, these Chronicles seem to have been continued by different hands under the auspices of such men as the archbishops *Dunstan*, *Alfric*, and others. The indirect evidence respecting *Dunstan* and *Alfric* is as curious as that concerning *Plegmund* ; but the discussion of it would lead us into a wide and

barren field of investigation; nor is this the place to refute the errors of *Hickes*, *Cave*, and *Wharton*, already noticed by *Wanley* in his preface. The *Chronicles of Abingdon*, of *Worcester*, of *Peterborough*, and *others*, are continued in the same manner by different hands; partly, though not exclusively, by monks of *those* monasteries."

But though Mr. Ingram goes on to say, "*that it would be a vain and frivolous attempt to ascribe these latter compositions (from the time of Alfred and Plegmund? or of Dunstan and Alfric?) to particular persons, where there were evidently so many contributors,*" yet it seems that he wished to do something more than he has done *in this respect*. He tells us *that he was many times asked during his work*, What is your Chronicle about?—and who wrote it?

*Very natural questions; but, as to the writers, very imperfectly answered.*

Neither his *friends* nor his *readers* are to be so easily satisfied.

If we take it for true on Mr. Ingram's *opinion* (see his preface) that *Plegmund* compiled the first part of the Chronicle down to the year 891, and continued it to 924, there remains from the latter year to 1155, (where it ends,) a period of 231 years. During that time he believes it to have been principally the work of

1. cotemporaries; and the question still is, *Who were they?*

Neither *Dunstan* nor *Alfric* were of the number : they are then entirely *to seek*. *Sparke*, the editor of *Hugo Candidus*, drily repeats an opinion of Dr. Hickes “ *that Hugo (his author) or some other monk of Peterborough compiled the Peterborough copy.*” And this opinion of Hickes is also mentioned by Mr. *Ingram* without assent or dispute : he merely adds that “ *contributions were furnished by cotemporary writers, many of whom were eye-witnesses of the events and transactions which they relate; as there is abundance of internal evidence to convince us.*”

Seven years have now elapsed since Mr. *Ingram*’s publication and nothing further has appeared, so that we may conclude he never intended to treat this inquiry ; or, if he did, has abandoned it. The subject, however, was always a general favourite ; and if but *one* of the writers could be clearly ascertained it would be *something*.

With this view, the attempt is renewed in the face of Mr. *Ingram*’s condemnation, for the *public* may think differently.

In the beginning I merely intended to touch

upon this subject in the *Peterborough History*, but *one* digression led so forcibly to *another* that I found it impossible to confine them within subordinate limits ; and therefore determined upon this separate volume.

It is notorious, notwithstanding the great reputation of the Saxon Chronicle, that it abounds in *mistakes*, a fundamental blemish which at present attaches to the whole compilation ; for it has not hitherto been shown that these mistakes are confined to particular sections. It is my endeavour, however, to remedy the defect, and to introduce each of the annalists in rotation, whereby it may be seen *who the authors of its credit were*. If the composition thereof, or of any considerable part, can be brought home to men of reputation, then our once blind deference will in some measure be justified : and it is of consequence to assign to every writer his proper portion, that if there be any separable part of the Chronicle particularly abundant in error and referable to no good authority, it may be marked as of doubtful credit, or altogether rejected.

It is only since the beginning of the present July that I have seen *Mr. Ingram's Inaugural Lecture* published in 1807, so that it is by



mere accident that several of his views are here opposed. I would neither be thought to delight in flat contradiction nor to fail in respect for his learning, and I might seem to do both in omitting to mention that this book was written and printed without reference to his Lecture.

And indeed I am bound to acknowledge the usefulness of his book. He has in several instances detected a meaning which escaped Bishop Gibson; and all who have access to his labours may understand the Saxon Chronicle.

I have ambitiously attempted *more* than this in desiring that the Chronicle should be understood *of itself*. It is the boast of our patriots, and of Mr. Ingram with the rest, that our tongue is essentially saxon; and surely it is time that Elfric, St. Wulstan, and Stigand, should speak for themselves, and not through a latin or any other translation. The boast is hollow unless they can be made to do this with effect.

The only real advantage of printing in *saxon* is the distinction between the two *thetas*, þ *th* and ð *dh*, which some modern grammarians have attempted to revive. *Spelman* says *they were written indifferently*; (though not perhaps un-

til after the Conquest,) and, except the *p w*, our letters are in general the *neater*.

Archbishop Parker seems to have exaggerated the difference between the *ancient pronunciation* and *our own*. "*Pronunciatio*," (says he, in his preface to Asser,) *obscurior, fortassis, et impeditior aliquantulum videbitur quàm ut absolutè percipi queat: neque mirum, quando quidem quotidianus ejus sermonis usus jam penitus evanuerit; et Saxones qui hodie in Germaniâ sunt illum pristinum pronuntiandi morem longo intervallo temporis amiserint.*" This difference seems only *true* of the letters *c* and *g*. When we transfer the *c* into modern English we should write it *ch* before *i* and *e*; and *after*, also, in words and syllables ending in *c*; and whether *n* intervenes or not. Thus Ceastre, Edric, Elfric, Alfric, Leofric, Ricard, benc, make Chester, Edridge, Eldridge, Aldridge, Leveridge, Richard, bench. The difference between the *hard* and this *soft c* (for they seem to have had no *k*) was obviated in various ways—*y* was written after it to make it hard instead of *i* in the *middle* of a word; and *e* or *g* added at the *end*, had the same effect: *ex.* cyng, fullice, rice, bricge, Rocger—made king, fully, rick, brigg, Roger: *sc*, even at the *end* of a word, always

made *sh.*: *ex.* *therse*, *thrash*. Before *e* and *i* the *g* is *soft* and to be pronounced as *y*: when *hard* it has the power of our modern hard *g*. \*

It is a question for grammarians whether originally there were exceptions to these rules either *anomalous* or *regular*, but there is a great appearance of regularity up to the Conquest.

For *distinction's sake* I have uniformly written *Ælfric* of Canterbury, *Alfric*; and *Ælfric* the grammarian, *Elfric*: for the names *Alfric* and *Elfric* are used indiscriminately. So, for the Bishop *Æthelwold* I have written *Ethelwold*; and for *Æthelwold*, Prior of Peterborough, *Athelwold*.

We have seen that Mr. Ingram has eluded the *only original part*, or (as he puts it) *a natural branch* of his undertaking: it is this desideratum which is now *in part* supplied, for I must not be understood to mean that the work is complete. His publication contains 374 pages, of which the *Canterbury Annals* (with some verses and other matters of doubtful origin) occupy the

\* Taking the *ear* for a guide I should think the *g* was in most cases *soft*, as, for instance, before *a*, if preceded by *i*; *ex.* *lufigan* (to love); *haligan* (to hallow); but query for this. *Hugo* (v. p. 413) has *halechen*, meaning, perhaps, *halgan* rather than *haligan*; as (p. 410) he has *halichede* for *halgod*.

first 167. As far as regards these I have done nothing except as to 16 or 18 pages, which were *clearly* written by *Remaldus*. These 167 pages Mr. Ingram attributes to Plegmund and Dunstan.

From p. 167 to the end, (207 pages,) the Chronicle was principally written by a line of cotemporaries, six in number. It is to these continuators and continuations that my inquiries have been directed; and I have separated therefrom the contributions of four or five others less considerable.

What remains to be done is to examine Plegmund's and Dunstan's claims, which examination Mr. Ingram has not prejudged.

I ought not to affirm that my undertaking is fully performed; but if I *seem* to have so far presumed, I would be as plainly understood when I add, that I am afraid to look at the *manner* of the performance.

I have reason, in spite of my care, to fear the appearance of an imperfect knowledge both of *Saxon* and *old French*; for I found it necessary to venture perpetual emendations in *Sparke's* verses, and have probably fallen into errors therein.

Amongst the excuses for ignorance and mis-

takes which a young author might attempt to furnish, the first is *fear*: since last *September*, (when I began to read for the above-mentioned Peterborough History, out of which this volume has arisen,) or at least since I ascertained that Elfric was abbot there and wrote a section of the Saxon Chronicle, I have been in perpetual dread of some other's making the like discovery; and my haste to claim the inventor's reward has not been slackened since the middle of June, when I was informed that Mr. *Petrie* was printing a new edition of the whole Chronicle as part of the National Records.

*Sparke* in his *Hugo* prints the name *Remaldus Reinaldus*, and perhaps rightly: it signifies little which, and I have followed Dr. *Patrick*.

# DISSERTATIO

## UTRUM ELFRICUS GRAMMATICUS?

AUCTORE HENRICO WHARTON.

(1 ANGL. SACR. 125.)

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QUESTIO difficilior discutienda, nimirum, Utrum iste Ælfricus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, fuerit ille doctus Elfricus quem Grammaticum appellare solent, et cui totum ferè quod superest Saxonicae Literaturæ debemus. Atque id quidem libenter crederem, quod semper optandum, Eruditionis principatum cum Ecclesiae primatu conjunctum esse. Vereor autem, ne, rationibus utrinque subductis Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis alius à Grammatico sit statuendus.

Unum, eundemque fuisse Baleus, Pitseus, et post illos, cuncti ferè Scriptores nostrates opinati sunt; meque illo quondam errore abreptum fuisse fateor. Et sane sententiae istius rationes adsunt non contemneud. Ut omnium

enim Neotericorum consentientem auctoritatem mittam : uterque Elfricus Ethelwoldi discipulus fuit, et preclaram doctrinæ famam ætate suâ consecutus est; uterque acerrimus Cleri conjugati Adversarius; et uterque obiisse dicitur die 16 cal. Decemb. Dierum quidem obituum concordiam nulli hâtenus notârunt; qui, tamen antiquitates nostræ gentis summâ solertiâ rimati sunt, Lelandi, Baleus, Pitseus, Usserius, aliq. in eandem sententiam conspirant. Plurimas rationes Illust. Usserius in Bibliothecâ suâ Theologicâ MS. congegessit; ex quibus omnibus Hypothesin quandam efformavit: Cujus Epitomen Vir doctus Gulielmus Cave in *Historiam Literariam* transtulit p. 558 (ss.) Elfricum ante annum 956, Cœnobioli alicujus abbatem fuisse, et Wulfstano Eboracensi ac Wulfino Scireburnensi, Episcopis, literas illo tempore dedisse; Dein Ethelwoldo preceptori in abbazia Abendonensi, post Ordgarum intermedium, successisse; Mox, ab Oswaldo, abbatem Sancti Albani\* circa annum 969, constitutum esse; † ad Malmesburiensis Cœnobii regimen anno 974 translatum; † Proximo loco Cridiensem Episcopum factum; Dein Wiltoniensem, post Siricum; ac Devoniensem, post Sidemannum; Deniq. ad Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem evectum; obiisse anno 1006. Sic, quidem, omnia quæ de Elfrico narrata sibi constitère, Reverendissimus Primas Chronologiæ conciliavit. Liceat mihi tamen, pace tanti viri, aliam inire sententiam, indubiis rei testimoniis freto, quæ ille aut nescivit, aut minus advertit. Neque tamen opus esse arbitror, ut Hypothe-

\* Eadmer, concerning Ælfricus, in his *Life of Oswald*.

† Malmesbury, in his *Life of Aldhelm*.

sin ejus, ante, omnem aggrediar; error ejus ex inferiùs a me dicendis, in singulis pene membris, sponte patebit.

Elfrici Archiepiscopi ordinem, quem inter antistites Cantuarienses tenuit supra\* asseruimus. Illum, nempe, circa annum 995 Siricio in Archiepiscopatu successisse, et anno 1005, vel sequente obiisse. Neque magis dubitandum videtur, illum, Siricio ad Archiepiscopatum vecto in sede Wiltoniensi successisse, ab ea demum ad sedem Cantuariæ translatum. Id enim tradunt Malmesburiensis, Gervasius, Diceto, et Chronica Saxonica, ut alios taceam. Istius quidem Versio Latina a Wheloco confecta Episcopum prius Wintoniensem fuisse præfert. Id autem contra fidem Saxonici Chronologi manifestum; Saxonica enim sic se habent.—*Ælfric Wiltunscire Biscop*, p. 561. Neque melius Baleus (Cent. 2, cap. 21) qui a sede Wellensi† ad Cantuariensem translatum scribit. Utcumque autem illud certum jure sit habendum; nonnulla in historicis nostris reperiuntur quæ successionem Elfrici in Episcopatu Wiltoniensi perturbant. Ut paulo altius enim rem ducamus; Post Odonis Episcopi translationem ad Archiepiscopatum Cant. circà annum 938. Osulfus successit ex concordi omnium sententiâ. Iste obiit anno 970, juxta Florentius. Osulfo, Algarus; Algaro, Elfstanus; juxta Malmesb. Rectius vero, Florentius, Alfstanum, Osulfo; Vulgarum, Alfstano; successione ponet. Uterque Elfstanum Monachum Abendoniensem et Sancti Ethel-

\* In a separate Question in the same volume.

† He is said to have been Abbas Wellensis, in the margin of the Cambridge copy of *Epistola Ælfrici Abbatis de Clericis*. See Codex 438, Bibl. Harleiana.



woldi discipulum fuisse perhibent. Neque alius est Algarus *Willielmi* quàm Wulgarus *Florentii*. Iste enim in indiculo Episcoporum Historiæ suæ subnexo Alfstani successorem Alfgarum vocat; Alfgarum autem Alfstano successisse indicio est quod narrat Florentius: Ethelredum regem, ingentem colligisse Classem, atque illi præfecisse Alfricum et Theoredum Duces, Alfstanum Wiltoniensem et Æscwinum, (Dorcestrensis is fuit,) Episcopos; Classem, demum, Alfrici perfidiâ, insignis victoriæ jacturam fecisse anno 992. Isto quidem anno Florentius rei exitum narrat; quamvis Classi ante, plures annos præfici potuerint, et Episcopus ille Wiltoniensis, ante rem gestam fato cesserit. Et certe ab anno 989 Alfricus sedem Wiltoniensem insederat; atque illi etiam præcesserat Siricius; quod in superiore Dissertatione probavimus. Quem Alfstanum autem hîc vocat Codex Florentii impressus. Codex MS. vetustissimus Alfgarum appellat. Ælfgarus igitur successit Alfstano; Alfstanus Osulfo: Alfstanus is obiit 980, Abendonix sepultus juxta Historiam antiquissimam Abendonix, *de qua infra*. Exeunte forsitan anno post calendas Januarii, anno enim 981 obiisse prodit Florentius: Certe, consecrationi Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis anno 980, die 13 cal. Novembris Ælfstanus adfuit, teste Wulstano in vita Ethelwoldi,\* cap. 40. Illi successor Alfgarus sedem ad annum 988, tenuit. Siricius enim si Willielmo Thorn fides, ex abbate S. Augustini Cantuariæ, Episcopus Wintoniensis, (lege *Wiltoniensis*,) procurante Dunstano creatus est anno 988.

Elfricum, ante susceptum Episcopatum Wiltoniensem,

\* In his Life of St. Swithin.

fuisse abbatem Abendonensem, Malmesburiensis et Westmonasteriensis scribunt; idque apud omnes Neotericos pro indubio, habetur. Lapsi tamen omnes. Sequitur enim Historia Abendonix à me primùm edita, quæ *nullam non fidem meretur*.<sup>\*</sup> De venerando ejus Antistite præfationem consule. Ista successionem Abbatum Abendonensium ab Ethelwoldo ad an. 1131 accurate contextuit; nullum autem Alfrico locum dedit. Ethelwoldo enim, anno 963, successit Osgarus (quod† Wulstanus etiam in Ethelwoldi vitâ confirmat.) Osgaro Edwinus, anno 984. Edwino Wulgarus, 990. Wulgaro Adelwinus, 1017. Adelwino Siwardus, anno 1030. Quod tamen errori ansam dedit Alfricus Cantuariensis prius fuit Monachus Abendonensis ex fide Historiæ supra citatæ (ad an. 1006.) In eo (ss.) Monasterio sub eximio Monastici ordinis Instauratore Ethelwoldo enutritus fuerat; in quo et, plurimi alii istius ætatis antistites. Ab initio enim Edgari regis ad an. circiter 1000. Singuli ferè Angliæ Episcopi et Abbates ex Monasteriis Abendonensi, Glastoniensi et Wintoniensi delecti sunt; Adeo invaluerat Monachorum ordo; Tantumque apud reges

<sup>\*</sup> Elsewhere, Wharton overrates this Abendon History. It consists principally of extracts from Elfric's Life of Ethelwold, given as if original. Hugo Candidus' Peterborough History contains many of the same extracts; but he mentions, that his account of Ethelwold is collected from other books. We look in vain in this history for some account of the Bishop Egelwinus, imprisoned at Abbingdon, in the reign of William the First.

† It is better to cite these facts as Elfric's.

nostros potuere Dunstanus, Ethelwoldus, et Oswaldus, qui tribus hisce Monasteriis omnium primis, Monachos, Clericis ejectis, induxerant; et quasi totidem cucullati Ordinis Seminaria instituerant.

Elfricum Cantuariensem, Clericis expulsis, Monachos Ecclesiae Christi Cantuariæ induxisse supra notavimus. Obiit anno 1005 (juxta alios 1006) et Abbendoniae, unde Monachus extiterat, sepultus est: translatus ad ecclesiam Cantuariensem sub Canuto rege. Ista nos docet Historia Abbendoniae. Diem obitus dedit Martyrologium Cantuariense, MS. (ss.) 16 cal. Dec. Eodem die Elfricus Grammaticus decessisse, Carmen, Glossario ejus quod Somnerus edidit, praefixum, refert. Suspicio tamen Carminis authorem, nominis et dignitatis ab utroque gestae similitudine deceptum, diem Cantuariensi, proprium; Grammatico, male, assignasse: alio enim die Grammaticum obiisse, argumento verisimili, inferius ostendemus: et Martyrologio Cant. fidem in hac re derogari nequaquam par est. Cæterum Elfrici Cantuariensis Eruditionis famam astruit, non solum institutio sub doctissimo praesule Ethelwoldo, verum etiam Brideferti Monachi Ramisiensis coevi, fides; qui in vita S. Dunstani, ipsi Elfrico dicatâ illius nomen ob enormitatem divulgatae peritiæ depraedicat: [in actis Sanctorum, Maii; tom. 4, p. 346.]\*

Ista solummodo de Elfrico Archiepiscopo Cantuariæ constant: Abbatem autem S. Albani prius fuisse ad modum probabile est; Rationes expediam. Sic enim Joannes Capgravius in vita Oswaldi praesulis Wigorniae postea Eboracensis. Dato, illi, ab Edgardo rege et Dun-

\* The Jesuits' Collection, not Mabillon's. An extract post.

stano Archiepiscopo, negotio Canonicos Sæculares Monasteriis ejiciendi, Monachos introducendi, quod strenuè adimplevit; Inter alios, instituit in Ecclesia S. Albani Elfricum Abbatem, qui ad Archiepiscopatum Cant. postea sublimatus fuit; in Ecclesia Elyensi Brithnotum Abbatem (*Legenda Nova*, fol. 252.) Nescio unde ista hausit Capgravius, \* Sane is, ex quo cetera, ferè, omnia, desumpsit, Johannes Tinmuthensis, in *Historiâ suâ aureâ*, MS. nil ejusmodi habet. Fidem tamen addit traditio quæ inter Monachos S. Albani viguit, Alfricum seu Leofricum quendam, Abbatem suum, ad thronum Cantuariæ demum conscendisse. Istud ex Matt. Paris *Historiâ Abbatum Sancti Albani* patet; quamvis ipse Abbatum tempora atque successionem male disposuisse videatur. De Parachronismis in hoc opere admissis, nonnulla in Notis ad *Chronicon Episcoporum Lichfieldensium* adnotavimus: Forsitan et Error parilis in hâc re deprehendi potest. Numerat enim Ulsinum Abbatem sextum; Alfricum septimum; Ealdredum octavum; Eamerum nonum; Leofricum decimum; Alfricum undecimum; Leofstanum duodecimum; qui, tempore Edwardi Confessoris, Alfrico successit. Porro, si quis tempora componat, inveniet Alfricum Abbatem septimum tempore Edgari regis floruisse; quod cum Capgravio apprimè convenit. Alfricum enim Cœnobio S. Albani, et Brithnotum Eliensi, eodem circiter tempore, præpositos asserere videtur: Brithnotum Eliensi Monasterio, anno 970, præfectum esse *Historia Eliensis* refert. Rem confirmat

\* From Eadmer's *Life of Oswald*, (ut infra,) and in the same words.

subscriptio *Ælfrici* Abbatis in Chartâ *Edgari* regis data *Cœnobio Ramesiensi*, anno 974, (in *Monastico Anglicano*, tom. i. p. 236.) Iste quidem *Alfricus* *Sedem Cantuariensem* postea obtinuisse perbene potuit. Id tantum de exitu illius *Alfrici* Abbatis *Sancti Albani* in *Cantuariensem Archiepiscopatum* promoti *Matthæus* docet, Illum plenum *Dierum*, et *Sanctitate præclarum*, migravit ad dominum; seu potius, si verum fatendum esset, se nescire quod de eo factum sit. Honorem autem *archiepiscopatus* gesti non abbati septimo, *Alfrico*, sed decimo *Leofrico* defert, sic enim rem disposuit. *Leofricus*, filius erat *Comitis Cantiae*; *Alfricus* frater ejus uterinus: Ille, in *archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem* electus, non consensit, asserens fratrem suum, *Alfricum*, ad hoc esse digniorem; Postea tamen consensit nam assumptus ad *archipræsulatum*, domum suam bonis omnimodis reliquit redundantem. Et huic successit *Alfricus* frater, qui, ope fratris sui, *archiepiscopi*, fultus, multos repressit insurgentes, &c., et ejusdem auctoritate, *officium S. Albani*, se compositum, in multis *Angli* locis publicari fecit. Inepte igitur *Gulielmus Watsius*, *Matthæi Paris* Editor, notam hanc marginalem apposuit. “*Leofricus* electus in *archiepiscopum*, non consensit asserens fratrem suum *Alfricum* fuisse multo digniorem: *Alfricus*, igitur, effectus est *Archiepiscopus Cant.*” *Alfricus* iste dum *sæcularis* fuit, *Regis Ethelredi* *Cancellarius* fuit; et postea, *Abbas* factus, ab eodem *Ethelredo* nonnulla, *Cœnobio* suo emit. Sub *Ethelredo* itaque *Leofricus* *Abbatia* cessit, *Alfricus* successit: Ante annum igitur 978, quod ponit *Usserius*, *Alfricus* *Abbas S. Albani* esse non potuit. Sed neque multò post *Abbatia* sortiri potuit;

Leofricus enim iste ad archiepiscopatum, à *Mattheo*, euectus, alius non fuit quam Leofricus Episcopus Cridi-ensis; qui (prout in fronte Missalis, Ecclesiæ Exoniensi ab ipsomet, donati, scriptum reperitur:) Cridionensem Episcopatum ab Edwardo rege, cui Capellanus fuit, donatum tulit, anno 1046; Sedem Exonio transtulit anno 1050; obiit 1071. Nullum alium ejusce nominis inter præsules Anglicos ejusdem ævi invenimus. Quod si Ethelredi tempore regis, Alfricus Abbas fuerit, dicendum erit illum Leofrico ordine prævisse. Certe Radulfus Diceto (Abbrevat. Chron. 446) isti sententiæ suffragatur, Sic enim Abbates S. Albani recensit, Wulsinum, sextum; Elfricum, septimum; Eldredum, octavum; Edmarum, nonum; Æluricum, decimum; *Hic factus est, inquit, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis; Cui successit in Abbacia S. Albani Leofricus, Abbas undecimus, frater ipsius Ælurici.* Cautius, igitur, ordinem Radulfus disposuit, quamvis et ipse hallucinatus fuerit, Archiepiscopatum Alfrico abbati non septimo, sed decimo,tribuendo. Leofricum autem Abbatem, fuisse Episcopum Exoniensem idem confirmat; dum refert Leofstanum Abbatem duodecimum factum esse anno 1047; anno enim precedenti Leofricus sedem Exoniensem adeptus fuerat. Nescio annon Matthæus fratrum officia pariter ac ordinem immutaverit; Leofricum enim regis Cancellarium fuisse Westmonasteriensis et Wigorniensis produnt; Alfricum, Nullus. Ut quod sentio dicam, si Alfricus Cantuariensis prius fuerit Abbas S. Albani, ordine septimus fuit: et fuisse quidem non affirmo, lubens tamen concedo. Atque ista quidem scripseram antequam Vitam Oswaldi ab Eadmero scriptum perlegissem. Ex illius enim fide

certissime constat Elfricum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, fuisse prius, Abbatem S. Albani, Cœnobio recens instaurato, ab Oswaldo præfectum.

Ab Alfrico Cantuariensi ad Grammaticum transeundum est: et primo, quidem, quæ de isto Malmesburiensis narrat examini subjicienda. Extat apud Malmesburiensem, tam in *Histor. de gestis regum*, (l. 2, c. 8,) quam in vitâ Aldelmi à me primum editâ, p. 32. Charta Edgari regis data Cœnobio Malmesburiensi, an. 974, quâ, se, Elfricum, virum in omnibus ecclesiasticis expertissimum officiis, Abbatem\* præfecisse dicit. Huic Abbati Willielmus in Vita Adelmi ejusmodi apponit characteres qui Grammatico proprii sunt. "Eum peritum literarum, præsertimque elegantissimum interpretem, *nisi fallax tradit vetustas*. Moriens reliquit aliquantos Codices, non exigua ingenii monumenta: Vitam S. Ethelwoldi, ante quam eam Wulfstanus operosius concinnaret. Abbreviationem passionis S. Edmundi: Libros multos ex latino in patrium sermonem versos." Opera ista ad Elfricum Grammaticum nullus non novit: Hujus enim innumeros ferè Sermones, Tractatus, et Libros S. Scripturæ e Latino in Saxonicum sermonem versos, in bibliothecis publicis etiamnum habemus. Vita Ethelwoldi ab eo contexta extat MS. (ex bibliothecâ fiscamnensi descripta) penes eruditissimum Mabillonium, qui prologum ejus dedit in actis Benedictinorum, sæc. 5, p. 608, in Notis ad Ethelwoldi vitam à Wulstano scriptam. Quam quidem vitam

\* This is one of many instances in which Malmesbury has mistaken Elfric: either by accident or design.

ut id obiter notem, Wulstanum auctorem habere (de quo dubius hæsit Cl. Mabillonius) ex hoc Willielmi loco, jam primum constat. Quæ de illo enim Wulstani opere dicit Aldelmus Vitæ Ethelwoldi a Mabillonio ibidem editæ ad amussim conveniunt. Ceterum abbreviationem Passionis S. Edmundi ab Elfrico adornatam non alius memoravit: nescio an hodie supersit: Habetur quidem Vita S. Edmundi regis, saxonice ab Elfrico scripta, in bibliotheca cott. (Julius E. VII.) Porro de Elfrico Abbate Malmesburiensi Willielmus adjungit, quod Cùm jam grandævus esset, in Episcopum Cridiensem altatus, vix quatuor annis superfuit.

Longe, igitur, Ille alius ab Alfrico Cantuariensi, qui ex ipsius Willielmi, aliorumque omnium sententiâ Archiepiscopatum 11 annis, et antea, Wiltonensem 5, tenuit. Falsus ergo Cl. Usserius, qui unum, eundemque ponet. Quodd vero, vir maximus, Elfricum anno 978 Cridiatunensem Episcopum; anno 990 Wiltoniensem post Siricum, sicut etiam Devonensium eodem tempore post Sidemannum fuisse factum conjiciat, pluriès adhuc lapsus est. Sidemannus enim obiit anno 977, teste Florentio, aliusque Devonensium Episcopus non fuit præter Cridiensem: Nec minus erravit ipse Willielmus qui Elfricum Grammaticum, eundem cum Cridiensi posuit. Scripsit enim Grammaticus Vitam Ethelwoldi Kenulfo, Episcopo Wintoniensi, anno 1006. Elfricus autem Cridiensis jam diu fatis cesserat, quippe qui 4 duntaxat annis sedem tenuit; et, ante annum 991 quatuor in Abbatia Malmesburiensi Successores Ethelwardum, Keniwardum, Brichtelmum, et Brithwoldum habuit: Brithwoldus enim Danegeldum solvit, teste Willielmo (in



Vita Aldelmi, p. 35.) Id autem vectigalis, anno 991, impositum fuisse constat. Proprius adhuc veritatem attingere liceret, si Charta Ethelredi regis, Ethelwardo Abbati data, (*loc. cit.*) cui Elfricus, jam Episcopus, testis adfuit, veras temporum notas exhiberet, quæ codicis vitio corruptæ sunt. Id tamen præfatur Willielmus chartam datam fuisse ab Ethelredo dum adhuc in regno tenellus esset. Regnum iste iniit anno 978 die 18 Martii. Testes adfuerant præter Alfricum, Escuinus, Dorcestrensis Episcopus, et illi qui in superiori Chartâ (quâ Elfricus Abbas constitutus est) subscripserant, videlicet, Dunstanus, Oswaldus, Ethelwoldus, tres Elfstani (ss.) Londinensis, Roffensis, et Wiltoniensis Episcopi. Ex his Elfstanus Wiltoniensis obiit anno 981 prout supra observavimus. Adeoq. Alfricus Cridiensis ante annum 985 obiit. Ista sufficiant. Cum Chartarum autem fides merito suspecta habeatur, non inutile erit Successionem Episcoporum Cridiensium intueri. Illos sic enumerat Malmesburiensis (lib. 2, de pont.) Edulfus, Edelgarus, Elfwoldus, Sidemannus, Elfricus, Elfwoldus; Eundem ordinem servat Florentius, qui annos plurimum insuper exhibuit: Ethelgar (ss.) obiit anno 953. Episcopatus sui 21; Alfwoldus successit 953 (anno 952 juxta Florilegum qui tamen sibi male constans ejusdem introitum totidem verbis refert in anno 976,) sedit annos 19, obiit 972. Sidemannum Edgarus rex anno 968 Cœnobio Exoniensi Abbatem præfecit, anno 972 Alfwoldo successorem dedit. Obiit is 977, Addit Codex MS. Florentii,\* Abbendonæ.

\* Which he had from the Worcester copy of the Saxon Chronicle.

sepultum esse. Sidemanni obitum confirmant Acta Synodi Kyrtlingtoniensis (Concil. Angliæ, tom. i. p. 493,) anno 977 habitæ. In ipsa enim Synodo obiisse ibidem dicitur. Successit itaque Elfricus anno circiter 977, et circa annum 981 defunctus est. De isto Episcopo dictum puto quod habet Historia Glastoniensis (*Monast. Angl.*, tom. i. p. 9.) “Elfricus Episcopus, Monachus et Abbas Glastoniæ obiit anno 988.” Annus enim minus convenit; neque tamen minus verisimilis est conjectura. Authori enim istius historiæ Chronologia infelicissime solet succedere.

Rejecta Malnesburiensis sententia, certiora de Elfrico Grammatico sunt investiganda. Id imprimis constat, illum Ethelwoldi Abbatis Abbenoniensis, et demum Episcopi Wintoniensis discipulum fuisse. Hoc ipse pluries in suis scriptis testatur; et præceptoris virtutem et eruditionem deprecatur. Sic in præfatione primâ ad Grammaticam Saxoniam. “Sicut didicimus in Schola venerabilis præsulis Athelwoldi, qui multos ad bonum imbuat.” Et in præfatione secundâ dicit Dunstanum Archiepiscopum et Athelwoldum Episcopum literas jamdiu apud Anglos sepultas in Monasteriis resuscitasse. Sane præclarum Ethelwoldi in hac re studium, alius ipsius discipulus Wulstanus nobis in Vitâ ejus, cap. 31, testatum dedit. “Dulce namque erat ei” (inquit) “adollescentes et juvenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglicè eis solvere, et regulas grammaticæ artis, ac metricæ rationes tradere, et jocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari.”\*

\* This is *Elfric's* language, rather than *Wulstan's*.

Ethelwoldus Monachos Abbendonienses ante, Wintonienses post, præsulatum susceptum, discipulos habuit. Elfricus é Wintoniensibus fuit. Ipse enim in Epistolâ ad Kenulfum, Vitæ Ethelwoldi præfixâ, sese Wintoniensem alumnum appellat. Eundem Elphegus Episcopus Wintoniensis ad Monasterium Cerneliense legavit; adeo ut Monasterium in quo degebat, ad Episcopi Wintoniensis ditionem spectâsse jure censeatur. Poterat tamen Elfricus in utrovis Monasterio Ethelwoldi regimini subdi, modò ætas permetteret. "Ethelwoldus enim" (ut Johannis Tinmuthensis verbis utar, in Historiâ aurea MS. lib. 21, c. 58,) "expulsis de veteri Monasterio Wintoniensi Clericis, induxit Monachos de Abendoniam, quibus ipse Abbas et Episcopus tuit." Ex horum autem numero Elfricum fuisse ætas ejus necdum adulta non permittit. Anno enim 963, quo Ethelwoldus ab Abbatiâ Abbendonienſi ad Episcopatum Wintoniensem translatus est nondum undecimum ætatis annum superârat: Quod proxime probandum est.

Chronologiam Saxoniam a Julio Cæsare ad annum 1070, Abr. Whelocus edidit ex duplici Codice; operis totius auctor frustra quæritur, a diversis enim scriptum est: Codex autem Cantabrigiensis notâ affixâ præfert Chronologiam istam scriptam esse ab Elfrico, anno ætatis suæ 23. Quod de parte ejus posteriori nequaquam intelligendum esse satis constat. Pars itaque prior Elfricum authorem habet; quæ, quidem, res Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis tantâ præ aliis diligentiam persequitur, ut a Monacho quodam Wintoniensi concinnata primo intuitu videatur: Desinit ista in anno 975, primo, scilicet, Edwardi regis et martyris anno: Ibi enim Historicus post

narratum Edwardi introitum, multos illi annos precatur. In proximo autem cujus res gestas Chronologia ista exhibet anno (ss.) 977. Edwardum regem occisum esse narratur; quæ certe ab uno eodemque autore proficisci nequaquam potuerunt: Elfricus igitur in anno 975 Chronologiam suam terminavit, annos jam natus 23, adeoque anno circiter 952 natus est.

Idem Elfricus post annum 980 nondum Abbatis dignitate auctus scripsit ad Wulfinum Episcopum Scireburnensem Epistolam celeberrimam quæ sæpius prodiit, et Canones Ecclesiasticos qui habentur apud Spelmannum, (Conc. Angl. tom. i. p. 572.) Spelmannus quidem (in notis ad hos canones, p. 583,) contendit Elfricum tunc Episcopum fuisse, ducto exinde argumento, quod Wulfino sese parem innuat, Canones suos sic exorsus, "Elfricus humilis frater Venerabili Episcopo Wulfino." Porro duos tantum hoc sæculo Wulfinos Episcopos fuisse, unum Scireburnensem ab anno 940 ad annum 958. Alterum Dorcestrensem ab anno 1053 ad annum 1067: Nullum autem utrivis Elfricum Episcopum contemporaneum reperiri. Unici Alfrici Puttæ Archiepiscopi Eboracensis ætatem ad rem propius accedere. Istum enim Sedem Eboraci ab anno 1003 ad annum 1051 tenuisse; adeo ut si Wulfinus Cathedram Dorcestrensem paulo citius adièrit, vel, Alfricus Eboracensem paulo diutiùs tenuerit, Alfricus Archiepiscopus Wulfino Coepiscopo Canones inscribere commodè potuisset; et in hanc se inclinare sententiam. Vel si concedi posset Elfricum, Canonum auctorem, non fuisse, illo tempore, Episcopum. Cum tamen aliunde constet Elfricum, Canonum auctorem, eundem cum Grammatico

fuisse, et Grammaticus, Ethelwoldi Wintoniensis (qui sedem iniit anno 963,) discipulus fuerit: nullo modo fieri posse, ut Wulfino Episcopo Scireburnensi, anno 958 defuncto, Canones isti inscriberentur: Huc redit Cl. Spelmanni sententia; quæ tot fere errores habet quot argumenta. Quod Alfricus Putta Sedem Eboraci anno 1003 obtinuisse dicatur, typographi errorem arbitrator: nescire enim non potuit Vir doctissimus Alfricum anno 1023 Archiepiscopatu Eboracensi auctum esse. Neque etiam quo anno Wulfinus Episcopatum inierit. investigare refert. Canones enim hos ante annum saltem 1006 scriptos esse clarissime liquet ex præfatione Elfrici authoris ad Codicem manuscriptum in quo Sermones Catholici atque isti ipsi Canones Saxonice habebantur. Præfationis initium Spelmannus ibidem dedit. In eâ dicit Elfricus se, ab Elphego Episcopo Wintoniensi ad Monasterium Cerneliense missum, "librum istum e Latino sermone in Anglicum transtulisse idioma." Ante annum igitur 1006 quo Elphegus Wintoniensis Episcopus esse desiit; et post annum 983 quo esse cœpit. Poterat tamen Elfricus Canones Wulfino Scireburnensi Latine ante plures annos scripsisse; et postea hîc loci Saxonice convertere: quod illi non infrequens erat libros suos e Latino saxonice; e Saxonico latine transferre. Potuit quidem etiam Canones ante annum 1006 compositos Wulfino Dorcestrensi post annum 1053 inscribere; quod vult Spelmannus. Nimis tamen durum videtur Elfricum Canones conscripsisse in gratiam alicujus Præsulis, quem post 50 plus annos futurum præviderat! Sin Wulfino Scireburnensi inscriptos dicamus; omnia optime convenient: Vitæ institutum, et sectæ studium

Wulfino et Elfrico communia fuerunt quod amicitiam illis facile contrahere potuisset. Iste sub Ethelwoldo, Wintoniæ; ille sub Dunstano, Glastoniæ enutritus (teste Historiâ Glastoniensi, p. 9,) Elfricus capitali odio in Clericos sæculares, præsertim conjugatos, ubivis invecus; quod et in Canonibus ad Wulfinum præ aliis argumentis, persequitur: Wulfinus ejusdem Sectæ studiosus, Clericis Ecclesiâ Scireburnensi ejectis confestim post acceptum Episcopatum Monachos in Sede Episcopali instituit, (autore Malmesburiensi de gestis pont. 2, 141.)\*

In Epistolâ autem Canonibus præfixâ tantum abest ut Wulfino se parem innuat, ut contrarium potius, non obscure indicet; sic enim Wulfino alloquitur *Obtemperavimus, &c., Vos oporteat, &c.* Quod vero se fratrem indigitet, non aliud innuit quam se Monachum esse, usurpato vocabulo apud Monachos etiam antiquiores frequentissimo. Elfrico, autem in omnibus suis Scriptis, solenne est nomini proprio, nomen ordinis seu dignitatis apponere. Sic enim cunctæ fere illius lucubrationes exordiantur *Ælfric Monuc; vel Ælfric Abboth; vel Ælfric biscop:* Denique Wulfinus iste Elfrico contemporaneus fuit.

\* Malmesbury says, it was *Wulfsinus*, not *Wulfinus*, (at which truth Wharton presently arrives;) and, what is still more strange, in the Canons themselves the name is also, as it ought to be, *Wulfsinus*; that is to say, in the MS. in Benet College, Cambridge. Of this MS. there is a copy in the Harleian Library, Codex 438, made by George Rechford for Doctor Hickes, in 1658, in which the Epistle begins thus: *Elfricus, humilis Presbyter, Venerabili Episcopo Wulfsino.*

Anno enim 958, (quod vult Spelmannus,) adeo non defunctus est, ut Episcopatum nondum obtinuerit. Namque anno 962 Wulfinus Abbas Westmonasterii a Dunstano Episcopo Londinensi institutus est ex fide Radulfi de Diceto (Abbrev. Chron. 456, et Hist. de Præsul. Angliæ, cap. 3.) Hunc postea fuisse Episcopum Scireburnensem constat ex Willielmo Malmesburiensi, (de gest. pont. 2, fol. 141,) qui in Wulfini Scireburnensis rebus gestis narrandis eadem quæ Rad. de Abbatia Westmonasterii illi a Dunstano cum esset Episcopus Londinensis commissa refert; anno duntaxat prætermisso. Sane Radulfum in anno hallucinatum esse libenter crederem: Dunstanum enim a Sede Londinensi ad Cantuariensem sub exitum anni 959 translatum esse in Superiori Dissertatione probavimus: Factus est Idem Episcopus Londinensis anno præcedenti ex Florentii fide: ita ut anno 959 vel 958 Wulfinus Abbas Westmonasterio præpositus fuerit: et a<sup>n</sup>no quidem 958 præpositum fuisse Florilegus diserte\* affirmat, et Joannes Flete in Historiâ Westmonasteriensi. De Wulfini obitu disquirendum restat. Ante 958 is contigit si Florentio simul et Malmesburiensi fides. Isto enim anno Alfwoldus ex illius sententiâ decessit, qui Wulfino in sede Scireburnensi juxta Malmesb. aliosq. successit. Wulsinum quendam Episcopum Wiltoniensem Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, (Col. 2223,) memorant subscripsisse Donationi Etherici et Leofwennæ unâ cum Elphego Episcopo Wintoniensi. Factum id

\* The Florilegus endeavoured to mend a palpable mistake as he usually does.

igitur post annum 984 quo Elphegus Episcopatum iniit. Pronum tamen est arbitrari Wulsini, pro Wulgari nomine, male irrepsisse. Wulgarum enim post annum 981 Sedem Wiltoniensem tulisse suprâ probavimus. Ut-cunque autem conjectura se habeat Evidentiarum istarum auctoritati quàm minimùm deferendum censeo. Nescio an Florentii auctoritatem superet Charta Ethel-redi regis data Wulsino Episcopo Scireburnensi et Cœno-bio suo an. 998,\* quæ in bibliothecâ cottonianâ, manu valde vetustâ, et semi-Saxonicâ reperitur, quæ exinde descripta in hoc volumine paulò inferiùs locum habet.

In tanta testium discordiâ quid potissimum statuendum esset mihi prorsus incerto feliciter ad manus devenit Joannis Flete Historia Westmonasteriensis MS. Ista ex Sulcardo Monacho Westmonasteriensi qui 50 circiter post Wulfsinum annos floruit, refert, (cap. 17.) Wulfsinum Episcopum Scireburnensem ab Ethelredo rege paulo post annum 980 factum esse et anno circiter 998, obiisse: In eam igitur adducer sententiam Alfwoldum illum a Flo-rentio memoratum ante Wulfsinum Sedi Scireburnensi præfecisse; lapsumque esse Malmesburiensem atque illius sequaces in catalogo Episcoporum Scireburnen-sium texendo, eo, quo Wulfsinum Malmesburiensis loco, Alfsium reponit Florentius, Ulsium Florilegus, qui eun-dem Elfredo anno 940 successisse ponit. Noster autem Wulfsinus inferius quærendus est, illo circiter loco, quem

\* This Charter is particularly noticed hereafter; it is of great support to Wharton's theory, though an answer to much of his previous reasoning; and therefore he makes little account of it.



Ethelricus et Ethelsius in vulgatis Præsulum Scireburnensium Catalogis obtinent. Joanni Flete fidem astruunt chartæ perantiquæ Saxonice in Historiâ Cœnobii Abendonensis MS., in Bibl. Cott. Claudius, B. vi. Quarum plurimis Wulfsinus isto circiter tempore subscripsit: exempli gratiâ; Chartæ datæ anno 995 subscribunt Alfricus, Wiltoniensis, Episcopus: et Wulfsige, Scireburnensis: Chartæ anno 995 Indictione 8 datæ, Alfricus, electus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, et Wlfsige Scireburnensis Episcopus. Chartæ anno 996 Indictione 9, Ælfricus, Cant. Archiep. et Wlfsigé, Scireburnensis Ep.: Multæ quinetiam post annum 998 Chartæ editæ inibi singulis ferè annis reperiuntur; in nullis autem harum Wulfsini nomen comparet.

Post annum 987 Elfricus missus est ab Episcopo Wintoniæ Elphego ad Monasterium Cernelense in agro Dorsetensi, ut disciplinam monasticam inibi instituerat, rogatu Æthelmari comitis qui Monasterio recens fundaverat. Ista scribit Elfricus in præfatione ad sermones catholicos et canones, supra-memoratâ, (Charta autem foundationis extat in *Monastico Anglicano* data 987.) In hoc Monasterio degens, plurimos sermones, quos Catholicos vocat, e Latinâ in Saxonicam linguam transtulit; quod ipse, loco citato prodit. Post annum itaque 987 grammaticam suam concinnavit. In secundâ enim Grammatices præfatione dicit se 80\* libros sermonum

\* There or thereabouts. The copy of this *Ful Spel-Boc Wintres and Sumeres*, given by Bishop Leofric to the Greater Church in Exeter, begins with forty-three of these Homilies, (which were designed to serve for a year,) and are followed

vulgari sermone reddidisse: Et totidem, quidem, neque plures, annumeratis etiam codicis cernelensis Sermonibus, ab illo versos hodie habemus. Simplex autem Monachus ad huc fuit, utpote qui in præfatione dicti Codicis se Monachum et Missalem Presbyterum duntaxat indigitat Nec mirum videri debet simplici monacho Monasterii recens fundati instituendi curam commissam esse, cum, præter eximiam eruditionis famam Elfrici meritis accesserit quod Ethelwoldi discipulus fuerit. Illo enim tempore nulli fere digni habebantur, qui Monasteria et Ecclesias seu regerent seu instituerent, nisi qui a Dunstani, Ethelwoldi, aut Oswaldi Scholis prodiissent. Hinc, et ad alia Monasteria Elfricum legatum esse legimus. In Codice enim MS. versionis Saxonice evangeliorum in Collegio Corporis Christi, Cantabrigiæ, sub fine evangelii S. Matthæi, ista reperiuntur, caractere Saxonico scripta, *Ego Ælfricus scripsi hunc librum in Monasterio Bathonio* (missus, puto, ab Elphego Episcopo qui primus fuerat ipse Abbas Bathoniæ) *et dedi Brithwoldo Præposito.*

Post an. 1002 Elfricus scripsit Epistolam insignem quæ extat de Sacramento altaris ad Wulstanum, Archiepiscopum Eboraci. Duo hujus nominis erant his temporibus Archiepiscopi Eboracenses: Senior, 7 cal. Januar. 956, obiit, juxta Florentium, et Chronicon Mailros: Junior Adulfo successit 1002, juxta Florentium et West-

by fifty-one others, which were to be read in the course of a second year, and so alternately. [*The Incipits in Hickes' Thesaurus*, 2. 153.] These, it seems, were written wholly, or in part, at Cerne, and finished in Archbishop Sigeric's time, 990-995.

monasteriensem; obiit 5 cal. Junii 1023, feria tertia, juxta Florent. et Thomam Stubbs. In Libri fronte Abbatem se designat, Wulstano igitur seniori Epistola inscribi non potuit; cum Elfricus anno 987, 30 plus quam post illius obitum annis, nondum Abbatis dignitate coonestaretur. Sunt tamen qui Wulstano seniori scriptum volunt, quibus opposuisse sat erit Elfricum fuisse Ethelwoldi discipulum; ipsum autem Ethelwoldum non longe ante Wulstani obitum Abbatem factum Discipulos sibi, adscivisse: ne dicam iterum Elfricum post annum 987 simplicem Monachum fuisse; et si de ætate ejus recte conjecerimus, in cunis, adhuc, quando Wulstanus obiit vagiisse,\*

Anno 1005 Elfricus Abbas jam factus, Vitam Ethelwoldi præceptoris conscripsit, et Kenulfo Episcopo Wintoniensi scriptam nuncupavit: Kenulfus enim successit Elphego, quem anno 1005 ad Sedem Cantuariensem translatus in superiori Dissertatione ostendimus; et ante mensem Julium anni sequentis obiit, teste Florentio Wigornensi: Anno autem 1005 potius quam 1006 Ethelwoldi vitam scriptam statui; ut veritati magis accedat Calculus Ælfrici, qui in præfatione dicit annos 20 ab Ethelwoldi obitu transactos fuisse. Obiit Ethelwoldus medio anno 984. Sin aliis annus 1006 magis placeat, non refragabor. Cujusnam Monasterii abbas fuerit Elfricus minus constat, Wintoniensis tamen fuisse videtur; tum quod opus Kenulpho Episcopo Wintoniensi inscrip-

\* *Vagiit*, certe, non ante septem annos post Wulstani mortem.

serat, tum quod Monachus Wintoniensis antea fuerit, quod supra ostendimus. In Epistola etiam nuncupatoriâ cùm et Abbatem et Wintoniensem Alumnum se vocans, institutionis locum doceat, Abbatiae sedem taceat, unum eundemque et Abbati et Monacho fuisse locum subindicat. *Rem extra dubium ponent* Florentius Wigornensis, Radulfus Diceto, et Thomas Stubbs, qui Alfricum Puttam, Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, prius Wintoniensem præpositum fuisse produnt. Nostrum autem Elfricum fuisse illum Archiepiscopum Eboraci, unico, eodemq. certissimo argumento, ostendemus.

Elfricum demùm Episcopali dignitate auctum esse constat ex Epistola ejus MS. in Collegio Corporis Christi Cantab. quæ inscribitur *Elfrici Episcopi ad jam nunc ordinatos*. Archiepiscopum apud Anglos fuisse patet ex vetusto carmine, glossario ejus præmisso.

Præsules hic redolent Elfrici lypsana summi :  
 Qui Rector patriæ perstitit Angligenæ  
 Inter Pontifices rutilans seu mystica lampas ;  
 Defensor regni, nec ne salus populi.

Denique ; Archiepiscopum Eboraci fuisse liquet ex Epistolâ antiqua quæ in vetusto codice Elfrici Glossario subji-  
 ciebatur, et unâ cum Glossario a Somnero evulgatâ est. Inibi religiosus vir quidam Elfricum orans, ut illi regium favorem in negotio quodam tenui conciliaret, eum his verbis compellat. “ Ita tu sacerdos egregie, Ælfrice, nostri regis C. obtutibus semper assistis ; et secreta ejusdem concilia a te non sunt abscondita ; sed per tuâ industriam sapientiæ discernendo rimantur. Apud eundem vero multorum subvenis divitum et inopum miseriis. Unde

totis imploro nisibus tuæ serenitatem benevolentiae," &c. Rex autem C. isto sæculo alius non fuit præter Canutum ; et Canuti regis tempore Elfricus Archiepiscopus alius non fuit præter Eboracensem.

Rei non leve pondus accedit ex cognomento Elfrici Archiepiscopi Eboraci ; qui ab aliis *putta*, a Florentio Wigorn. *Puttoc* appellatur : Vocem corruptam esse jamdiu suspicabar, et pro Saxonica litterâ þ male esse repositam quod ob literarum similitudinem perfacile fuit. Tandem subsidium felicissimè tulit Codex MS. vetustus Florentii Lambethianus qui pro *Puttoc* legit *wittunc* Ista autem vox, a voce Saxonica *witt* quæ ingenium seu doctrinam significat, derivatur ; unde et *Wittig* et *Wittol* Doctus seu sapiens : Adeo ut *Ælfrici Wittunc* nil aliud sit quam Elfricus Doctus seu Elfricus sapiens, quod quidem cognomen jure illi datum fuit, quum ipse solus, plus omnibus simul suæ ætatis Anglis in rem literariam contulerit.

Ælfricus itaque Wulstano Juniori in Archiepiscopatu Eboracensi successit. Wulstanus obiit anno 1023, die 5 calend. Junii, feriâ tertia, ex fide Florentii Wigorn. et Thomæ Stubbs. Ipse vero Elfricus obiit apud Suthwellam anno 1051 et apud Medeshamstede seu Monasterium Petriburgense sepultus est. Id iidem authores et Radulfus de Diceto produnt ; diem obitus prætermittant. Carmen quidem supra-memoratum Glossarij præfixum die 16 cal. Decembr. illum obiisse præfert ; Istum autem diem obitualem ad Elfricum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum certius spectare antea adnotavimus : Præstat ut Elfrici Eboracensis obitum inter Monachos Petriburgenses quæramus, si quidem is apud eos sepultus fuerit :

Diem ejus obitualem, quem anniversarium, vocant, illi, quotannis, celebrarunt. In Lambethiano Catalogo Petriburgensi obitus Elfrici hisce verbis notatur: *Die 9 calend. Februarii. Depositio Dompni Elfrici Archiepiscopi.* Sic etiam Obitualium Cœnobii Ramesiensis (cujus Excerpta extant in Monast. Angl. 1, 239.) *Nono Kalend. Febr. Obiit Alfricus Archiepiscopus.*

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## REVIEW.

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MALMESBURY'S error, then, respecting Alfric, Abbot of Malmesbury, is, that he believed him to be Elfric the Grammarian, which he was not; whilst our English writers in general have been equally mistaken in a different belief; for apparently the Archbishop Alfric of Canterbury was a third Elfric or Alfric. Mr. Wharton's conclusion, in the above Essay, is assailable, however, in two points. He adverts to one in his Preface, where he admits, in effect, that his system involves an improbability; it requires his converts to believe something *most* extraordinary of this otherwise extraordinary man—something which is not naturally impossible,

certainly, but very unlikely, and more than can be freely granted to an innovator. None of his authors notice that Elfric's life was unusually long; and no reason is found for their silence.

The other objection is, I think, equally obvious; but we will consider *that* in the second place.

*First, As to Elfric's extreme old age: Centenarius.*

The only argument our critic has adduced, necessarily fixing Elfric's birth so early as 952, is in the following passage:—"The Cambridge copy of the Saxon Annals, edited by Wheloc, has a note prefixed running thus: '*This Chronicle was written by Elfric in his twenty-third year.*' This note clearly cannot be understood of the latter part of it. Elfric, therefore, is the author of the earlier part, which touches so minutely upon the affairs of the church of Winchester, beyond all other churches, that it may be seen at first sight to have been written by some Winchester monk. The earlier part ends in the year 975, which was the first year of King Edward the Martyr; for there the historian, after mention of Edward's accession, prays that he may reign many years. But amongst the events of the year next recorded in this

MS. (viz. 977,) is the account of Edward's death. These two years could in no way be written by one and the same author. Elfric, therefore, finished his Chronicle in 975; he was then twenty-three, and, consequently, he was born about 952."

It has appeared to others who have examined Wheloc's Chronicle, that *Canterbury* is the church most noticed—not *Winchester*. And the writer of the year 975, says nothing of a long reign; he prays, however, for peace and plenty, which may amount to as much. It is likely enough that the next year, 977, was written by a different hand. But these objections are of little importance, if there were nothing behind. It seems, however, that Wharton was completely mistaken about the note. Mr. Ingram, the editor of the new edition of the Saxon Chronicle, thus observes upon the Cambridge MS.

"At the head of it stands this inscription, in the hand-writing of Archbishop Parker:—'*Chronica scripta anno 23 ætatis ÆLFREDI.*' The last word being mistaken by some person for ÆLFRICI, led Hickes, Cave, and Wharton\* to

\* Mr. Ingram inspected this MS. at his leisure, (for he expressly thanks one of the Fellows of the College, who



misappropriate this Chronicle to Ælfric, who lived about a century after Alfred."

Supposing, however, that Elfric the Grammarian was the Archbishop of York, Wharton might well believe him very long lived. He evidently was, from the early dates of some of his compositions. But Wharton reckoned, (and thereby was led astray,) that Elfric's connection with Ethelwold began much sooner than it did; a more particular examination of Wulstan's Life of Ethelwold would have prevented this mistake.

Mabillon, (in *Sæcul. 5, Act. Benedictin.*,) has published Wulstan's Life of Ethelwold; and in the editor's previous observations, p. 606, he remarks to the following purpose:—

"Many authors have written Ethelwold's

allowed him to examine it in his rooms.) The name is, therefore, *Ælfredi*, without a doubt, and in a comparatively modern hand. The numerals also seem to be modern?

But it is an inveterate mistake. Vossius, whose Preface is dated 1627, mentions Elfric as Elfricus Grammaticus, Abbot of Abbandon, afterwards Bishop of Wilton, and, finally, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Anno ætatis 28, condidisse dicitur Chronica Saxonica*. This account he may have had through Pitts.

Life; the first of whom seems to have been Elfric of Abendon, who drew up a short account of his actions, in the twentieth year after his death. Shortly afterwards, a second Life was written—anonymous, which Life we now publish. The latter writer's age is to be collected from his prologue and 29th chapter; for he relates, as he there informs us, partly what he saw himself, and partly what he learned, on the faithful narration of his seniors. His treatise is to be seen, without the author's name, in the Cod. Uticens., written in that age; but the writer seems to me no other than Wulstan, the Winchester monk, of whom Malmesbury, *de Reg. 2, c. 8*, speaking of Ethelwold, says, 'One Wulstan, precenter of Winchester, wrote his life in a fair ordinary style. He was his disciple and scholar.' What makes me think that this is Wulstan's Life, is because it was written about that time—because the writer is something of a poet, and has inserted a few verses—and, finally, because Malmesbury, in *lib. 2, de pont, tit. Ethelwold*, relates some particulars taken from our author, which Elfric omits; and indeed I cannot say whether Elfric was known to William as the first author of Ethelwold's

Life.\* He commends Wulstan as having written it, but none else."

"We have published Wulstan's Life, however, in preference to Elfric's, because the *former relates every thing to be found in the latter*, and, indeed, *generally in the same words*, and adds some things which the other has not."

Mabillon in his notes gives the differences between Wulstan's and Elfric's texts, which are few and unimportant, except that Elfric wholly omits Wulstan's nine last chapters.†

I understand by this, that, the differences noted excepted, Elfric's Life is literally transcribed by Wulstan, as far as it goes.

Notwithstanding Wulstan's flourish in the Preface, where he says, "Et, ne tanti patris memorià penitus oblivioni traderetur, ea quæ præsentes ipsi vidimus, et quæ fideli seniorum relatione didicimus, in his schedulis, summam, perstrinximus." There is but one passage

\* *He was.* "Elfric left a Life of St. Ethelwold, written before the more elaborate Life by Wulstan."—*Malm. Vit. S. Aldelmi*, 2 *Angl. Sacr.*

† They are principally miracles, in one of which Wulstan himself appears. He makes no mention of Elfric, intending, apparently, to take credit for *his* labour.

in which he speaks of himself as present, and that is in the 29th chapter, from which we give an extract below.\* Mabillon passes this 29th chapter, without remark, as perfectly alike in both the Lives. This, therefore, is Elfric's, the first writer's account, repeated by Wulstan, without alteration; so that it seems he was also present.

\* "Et aliud oportebat impleri somnium quod ipse vir Dei, Sanctus Ethelwoldus, de se, nobis, quâdam vice, referebat; inquit, Putarem me stare juxta litus maris, ubi mihi videbatur adesse quâdam maxima navis, in qua multitudo copiosa piscium, et maxime, anguillarum, conclusa tenebatur, ab ima usque ad summum. Cumq. mecum tacitus cogitarem quid sibi vellet hoc somnium, repente audiivi vocem, meo nomine, me vocantem, mihiq. dicentem, Ethelwolde! Ethelwolde! Hoc tibi mandatum cœlitus a deo missum est: Excita hos pisces, quibus hæc navis quam cernis, impleta est, et orationibus tuis effice, ut sint homines sicut antea fuerunt," &c. &c. Ethelwold's dream is recounted at considerable length; and thereto is attributed, perhaps justly, his restoration of the three ruined abbeys in the Marshes of Ely, viz. Ely, Thorney, and Peterborough. The chapter concludes thus:—"Ego autem gaudens in Domino, et congratulans illis, evigilo. Hancq. visionem, vobis, o filioli mei, idcirco refero, ut et vos, cum bonorum operum cultu perseveritis in sancto proposito," &c.

Since they neither of them report any other instance of their personal recollection of Ethelwold, we may believe that they remembered nothing more. Elfric mentions, indeed, in a general way, and Wulstan after him, that he took a delight in teaching the young people, seasoning his lessons with anecdote and good-humoured jests. All this betokens a faint recollection only—the ordinary impression age makes upon youth. An argument against Wharton is to be drawn from the note; for certainly the appellation of “My young children”—*O filioli mei*—would ill suit scholars of thirty-two.

*Elfric's* dedication of his Life of Ethelwold is an evidence that he was not himself intimately acquainted with the Bishop, his subject. It is to this effect:—

“Elfricus, Abbot, a Winchester scholar, to the Honourable Bishop Kenulfus, and the Friars of Winchester: Health in Christ. Thinking it a worthy employment to commend to posterity a few particulars of our Father and Doctor, Ethelwold, (since whose departure twenty years have now elapsed,) I have drawn together in this little sketch what I have learned from you, or otherwise on good testimony, lest haply, for

want of a collector, they might be altogether forgot.”\*

The Homilies which Elfric selected and translated into English at Cerne, may, I think, be assigned to the year 989, or a year or two earlier; but that was the year, it seems, in which he was first competent to priest's orders; and there is even reason to suppose he was not ordained so soon.

Cerne Abbey was not a foundation of 987; for Ethelmar, (who was Earl of *Cornwall*), in his Charter of that year, expressly refers to his former grants. A more ample provision, however, is thereby made for the monks, of all necessities and conveniences not prohibited by the laws of St. Benedict. Wharton computes that Elfric went to reside in this abbey (where

\* “Ælfricus Abbas, Wintoniensis Alumnus, Honorabili Episcopo Kenulfo, et Fratribus Wintoniensibus; Salutem in Christo. Dignum ducens, denique, aliqua de gestis Patris Nostri et Magnifici Doctoris Athelwoldi, memoriæ modò commendare, transactis, videlicet viginti annis post ejus migrationem, brevi, quidem, narratione meâ, sed et rusticâ, quæ apud vos, vel alias a fidelibus didici, huic stilo insero, ne fortè penitus propter inopiam Scriptorum oblivioni tradantur. Valet.”

his sermons were written,) in 987. He might; but he was not in that case a priest when they were written.\*

Elfric submitted the first forty of these Homilies to Sigeric, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom they were approved; and his epistle sent therewith, (in Hickes' Thesaurus, ii. 153,) explains the sources whence they were drawn, and the circumstances under which, and for what purpose they were written. This epistle was plainly written in 990, for that was Sigeric's first year, and also the year of the Danish invasion. Some time afterwards, Elfric sent him forty other Homilies; and we find, from his second epistle, that the invasion was subsequent to the first.

It was, probably, during his residence in Dorsetshire that he became known to Wulsinus,

\* It is not clear that he was ordained a priest at the time he submitted the first forty, in 990; for on that occasion he writes himself only, *Elfricus, Alumnus Ethelwoldi*; and on presenting his second set, (at least as late as 991,) he begins, *Elfricus, Humilis Servulus Christi*. Both sets being authorized, were published, as it seems, as the Sermons of *Ælfric, Priest*. Thus, he might not be more than eighty-four when he died.

Bishop of Shireburn, and at his desire drew up his Canons, or Duties of Cathedral and Parochial Clergy.\*

\* These Canons are in the language of an Episcopal Charge, and were to pass for the Bishop's (Wulsinus'). They begin, "Je secge eow, Preostum"—*I tell ye, Priests!* and are continued in an angry tone throughout. In some passages there are signs of Wulsinus' preference for the regular clergy, which operated some years afterwards. "Monks are obedient to human precept, the holy Benedict's, and live by his rule; and if they chance to offend, they make reparation according to their Abbot's sentence, and *that* with all humility; and there are rules and commands for you also, which you may see if you were willing to read," &c.

Mabillon, continually misled by Malmesbury, believed that the clergy of the church of Shireburn were desirous of becoming monks. There is little appearance of it, except from Malmesbury's word. Wharton seems rather to distrust the Charter of 998, (whereby this change was effected;) if it was to be received, he had wasted a great deal of learning, which he was determined to retain. This seems to have been the main cause of his hesitation.

"I, Ethelred, &c., have permitted Wulsinus, Bishop, to establish in the Church of Shireburn the chaste rule of a monastic life, according to the institution of the blessed Father Benedict, on this condition, nevertheless: that whosoever shall succeed him, and be Principal, if he be a harsh man, shall have [no] power to interfere in what concerns the monks. Let him be a shepherd, not a



Wharton also quotes Elfric's testimony concerning Ethelwold, in the Preface to his Saxon Grammar, *as we learned in the School of the venerable Bishop Ethelwold*. Let us suppose Elfric about eighteen or twenty in 984, when Ethelwold died, (and it seems he could hardly be more, if so much,) by this reckoning his hundred years are reduced to about eighty-seven, and Wharton's difficulty, for he contemplated but this, is considerably diminished.

There is another passage in the Dissertation, bearing upon Elfric's age, but which (after what has been said,) is hardly worth notice, except as leading to the second and principal objection proposed. It is this—

*“ I, Elfric, wrote this book [i. e. St. Matthew's Gospel] in the Monastery at Bath; and have given it to Brithwold, Prior.”*

By this Brithwold, Prior, we are to under-

tyrant, (&c.) Let him feed his people, and those who serve him. Let him have only [*Habeat ipse solus*] the food of a brother; for it is written, *He was as one amongst them*. Let him be the master of the monks' substance; so only that whatsoever [ \* \* \* \* ] counsel of the brethren. And if ever it shall happen (which God forbid) that the pastor and flock disagree, let the Archbishop always judge between them, and justice be done.'

stand Brithwold, Prior of Winchester; and if there were any difficulty here, we are assisted by Wharton himself; for it seems it might have been given at any time between 970 and 1005. (1 Angl. Sacr. p. 323.)

“ I am led, by light conjectures only, I must confess, to suspect that Brithwold succeeded Brithnot, Prior, made Abbot of Ely in 970, and held the office till 1006, and that he was the same Brithwold, Prior, to whom Elfricus, a monk of Winchester, gave the book of St. Matthew, written by himself in Saxon, about the year 987; and it seems that he was raised to the bishoprick of Wilton in the said year 1006. Indeed, we shall show that a Brithwold was consecrated Bishop of Wilton in that year; and we have already shown, that about the same year Elfric was made Præpositus of Winchester. I cannot but suppose that Brithwold succeeded Brithnot; and Elfric, Brithwold.”

This thesis we undertake to demolish; it is the only real difficulty in Wharton's system, though he has entirely overlooked it.

Secondly, *Was Elfric ever Abbot of Winchester?*

Certainly not; and if Wharton's case rest

where he left it, this second objection must be considered insuperable. No man knew better than he, if he had taken time to recollect, that the old Monastery, or Cathedral Church of Winchester, of which he says Elfric was, beyond all doubt, Abbot, never had an Abbot, *nomine*, Abbot, but, as well before Ethelwold's reform as afterwards, was governed by the Bishop, in place of an Abbot. This fact is frequently stated in the course of his own volumes:

Until the introduction of Benedictine Monks into some of our cathedral churches, in Edgar's time, they were universally served, each by a college of secular clergymen, whose principal was a dean; and we have abundant proof that this was the ancient form and ministry in the churches of Canterbury and Winchester in particular, until they were remodelled in Ethelwold's age. When he was bishop, the dean and canons of Winchester were obliged to give place to a prior and his company; and according to Ordericus Vitalis, and Mabillon, (Pref. to Sæcul. 5,) the cathedral churches abroad have always been served by a dean and canons, and not by regular monks.

It was not until after the Conquest that any

material change took place in the government of our Episcopal monasteries; until then, the bishops of those churches were all Benedictines, and, in general, zealous observers of the rules; they resided with their monks, and were, in effect, the abbots.

Whilst this primitive custom was preserved, the office of prior must have been subordinate, and was probably of no greater authority than the office of prior in other abbeys; but they soon found means to extend it, and gradually to supersede the bishop: not, however, (as we have said) until after the conquest.

The Norman bishops were, in general, averse to strict discipline; many of them were secular canons themselves, and such as were monks were not all Benedictines, but under our Saxon princes the other orders were unknown. Disagreement between the monks and their bishop though in a few ceremonies and observances only, produced dislike: the bishops were occasionally absent, the priors always resident, and at length the priors acquired independent authority. Thus we find the prior of Canterbury numbered amongst the mitred abbots.

It is certain, however, that no prior of Winchester attempted this usurpation until long

after Elfric's time. In no sense, therefore, was Elfric Abbot of Winchester.\*

*But, (says Wharton,) Florence, Diceto, and Stubbs, mention that Elfric, Archbishop of York, was ex Præpositus of Winchester, and THEREFORE, beyond all doubt, Winchester was the abbey of which he was abbot; Præpositus, provost, as the later part of the Saxon chronicle has it. An instance might, perhaps, be found where Præpositus, as well as Præsul and Pontifex, means abbot, but it is unusual. I doubt whether he was ever prior, for we shall have occasion to remember hereafter that this is Florence's account; the others depend upon him.*

Elfric's remains begin in so many instances with *Elfric, Abbot*, that it was unquestionably his proper title: he was not, and could not be, Abbot of Winchester, that is to say, of the old monastery. It is plain, then, that he must have

\* But by Elfric, abbot of Winchester, Wharton doubtless intended that he was actual abbot of the cathedral abbey there (St. Swithin's, or the old monastery). Malmesbury says, that the new monastery in Winchester was so near, that the monks of each heard the others sing. It seems never to have been suggested that Elfric might be abbot of this monastery; Ethelgar was the abbot in Ethelwold's time.

been abbot of some other, or Wharton's ingenious theory fails.

It seems to be this unreasonable conclusion of his, *that Elfric was Abbot of Winchester*, which has kept our antiquaries so long in doubt, or, rather, has discredited his reasonable doubts; for the universal opinion still is, that Elfric the Grammarian was Elfric of Canterbury. I venture, however, to follow Wharton, whose system wants nothing, I think, but examination: if it has fallen into disrepute, *his* credit will be the greater who may retrieve and establish it.

I cannot but believe that Elfric was Abbot of Peterborough—a particular which I shall endeavour to make appear in the next chapter.

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It will be necessary to take some notice of Ethelwold's restoration of the abbey of Peterborough, and of the intervening abbots; after which, we will return to Elfric.

Ingulfus has left us a minute account of the burning of this abbey by Inguar and others in 870, shortly before Alfred came to the throne: it was written on the relation of Thurgar, who says he was an eye-witness, and the other Sem-

pectæ ; and if these men were not arrant cheats, no ancient history can be more authentic.\*

Medeshamstead, as it was then called, lay about one hundred years uninhabitable, when Ethelwold, whose character and motives have been impugned without much apparent reason, undertook the restoration.

Ethelwold had been educated under Dunstan at Glastonbury, then the only Benedictine monastery in England, where he had distinguished himself above all the other monks in the virtues proper to a monk, and had risen to be prior. King Edred had subsequently given him the abbey of Abbendon, which he had scarcely made fit for habitation, and peopled from Glastonbury, and a few converts, when the king died. Edgar, who shortly succeeded, made him Bishop of Winchester in the beginning of his reign, and ever afterwards consulted him and Dunstan in every business of import-

\* Godric's monument, yet standing, to the memory of the abbot and his monks, gives considerable weight to the Croyland history. There is still, however, something very romantic in this part of Ingulfus. As to the Sempects, we have at least *express mention* of their extraordinary old age ; and Ingulfus, who was honest and wise, writes like a man convinced.

ance. It seems their counsel was prudent, for in this king's time a fleet was formed, and a kind of militia; the laws were revised and improved, and republished, and the nation enjoyed a profound peace.

For many reasons, however, the continuance of prosperity could not be hoped for long: the Danes were spread over all England, and were supposed to be still attached to their pagan deities. The misery which they had inflicted in former reigns had not only impoverished the English, but corrupted their morals. The clergy were remiss in their duties, and very ignorant; and of all their number, Dunstan only, with Ethelwold and a very few others, meditated individual as well as national improvement.

The means by which they thought to effect this improvement seem to have been very well chosen; namely, by the preaching and good example of the numerous body of clergy; with whom, however, it was necessary that reform should begin.

The plan of life adopted by Dunstan and Ethelwold disregarded, upon principle, all sensual enjoyment—a virtue generally striking and intelligible, and sure of respect. It was, indeed,



their own immediate passport to the highest distinction: they were both of them men of sense and discernment, and Dunstan also a man well born. He, first, and Ethelwold, furthered by his procurement, came early to be well received at court.

These two patriots were disgusted with their ignorant fellow-priests: it is certain they took great pains to bring them to understand Latin, that they might read the missal with profit, and the Old and New Testaments; but they soon found that the generation was in most cases beyond the reach of persuasion. They thought it enough to go through the ceremony of mass, without any preaching; and to marry, and bury, and receive their tithes. Their tastes, as might be expected, were of the most vulgar: forty years later we may reckon upon some amendment, but we find Elfric still intreating that they would not frequent the wine-houses, nor covet the office of sheriff.

Under such circumstances, our reformers saw they must begin with educating children from the cradle, if they would have a decent order of priests; a total seclusion from ill example was also necessary, and perfect obedi-

ence. Hence the rise and encouragement amongst us of monastic education: and it promised blessed effects.

The heat of Dunstan's temper has disgraced his memory, and particularly with regard to Edwy and his queen; but there is no such black stain upon Ethelwold.

They were both men of great resolution, and lived willingly and cheerfully themselves, under a system altogether artificial and constrained; and this they were also willing, it seems, to impose upon all clergymen, whether they were prepared by habit and constitution or not. This appearance of tyranny was particularly resented by the clergy of Ethelwold's cathedral church; and, probably, no reasonable compromise was proposed. At length Ethelwold (with whom our present business is) having first procured the king's sanction, the canons of Winchester were suddenly required to renounce their wives, or give place to the regular monks.

This was, probably, by way of example only; and it is clear, that a decent and seeming compliance was all that was ever enforced. But there is little doubt that many of these priests were profligate. Our Elfric tells us, in Ethelwold's life, (and he is worth hearing on any

subject,) that when his master, their bishop, declared that, being priests, their marriages were invalid in the sight of God, some of them put away their wives and married others; and there were others so impious, that they despised the sacraments they administered.

963. Having introduced the great novelty of regular monks in a cathedral church, Ethelwold, with the permission of the king and queen, took a second step, less questionable, and more important. We have already mentioned, in speaking of his life by Elfric, an extraordinary dream which he recounted to Elfric and others of his scholars.\* The sum of this story is, that he believed it was his Maker's will that he should convert to Christianity such as had been reasonable creatures, but were become brutes; and, apparently, his interpretation of this dream led to what follows.

There was at that time, in a corner of East Anglia, a marsh, rising out of the forests of Northamptonshire, which was sixty miles in

\* About the time Ethelwold was made abbot of Abingdon Turketul, king Edred's chancellor, formerly a soldier of great merit, and Ethelwold's friend, took a monk's habit, and restored, and was made abbot of, Croyland.

length, and of great breadth. This tract of country was not altogether uninhabitable, but its inhabitants were few, and lived principally in boats, though there were some fruitful spots in the islands which were cultivated.

This marsh was interesting to Ethelwold, because it formerly contained two abbies famous from the first planting of Christianity; namely, Medeshamstead, or Peterborough, (situate in a meadow between the forest and the marsh,) and Ely. There was also a third, of less account, but very ancient, called Thorney. These had all lain in ruins through Alfred's time, and ever since.

The few families who occupied these wastes were probably Danes, or the children of Danes; and appear to have had no means whatever of instruction.

Hugo Candidus, the principal historian of Peterborough, relates the occasion of the restoration of his abbey thus:—"In God's appointed time the truly devout Ethelwold appeared, and gave his days and nights to the building and restoring of monasteries, wherein he had the assistance of king Edgar. Whilst he was thus employed, he was warned of God in the night that he should go into Mercia, and repair the ancient and ruined abbey of St. Peter there," &c.

And, in effect, he did (as well as those of Ely and Thorney); and when it was finished, it appears that king Edgar came to see it, with the archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and the principal English nobility and clergy; and granted [972] an ample charter and possessions: in which charter Peterborough is first named *Burch*.—Ethelwold also bought lands, and further enriched it; and prevailed upon Adulfus, Edgar's chancellor, who was religiously inclined, and was about to go to Rome, to spend all his substance upon this foundation. Adulfus also exchanged his courtly robes for a monk's dress, and was this year, 972, chosen the first Benedictine abbot.

In this country of reeds and fish, no former occupants were dispossessed to make room for Ethelwold's monks. As to Peterborough, the situation was not inaptly chosen: it was partly hidden in the forest, and standing out upon the western or Mercian edge of the fens, it was only flooded in the spring. The neighbourhood was soon peopled and cultivated; the land was found to be very rich and productive, and the woods abounded with boars and deer.

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. Oswald, archbishop of York, dying in 992,

Adulfus was elected his successor; and in his place Kenulfus, a monk of Winchester, was elected abbot. (The same Kenulfus to whom Elfric inscribed his *Life of Ethelwold*.)

Kenulfus is celebrated as a man of learning, and was elected bishop of Winchester in 1005, whereupon Elfric was made abbot. But as the Peterborough table of Succession is full, it being hitherto believed that Elsinus succeeded Kenulfus, and sat fifty years, it is necessary to show that the local historians, and also the Saxon annalist, Ingulfus, and Florence of Worcester, are mistaken respecting this Elsinus.

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Simon Gunton, a prebendary of this church, began his modern history before the civil wars, and finished it soon after the restoration. He wrote apparently with little assistance from books, except from Hugo's and the other Latin histories contained in the book called *Swapham*, and kept in the Chapter House. Gunton's history does not seem to have been printed until 1686, when an edition was given by Dr. Patrick, bishop of Ely, (then dean of Peterborough,) together with a large supplement of his own.

Dr. Patrick was better acquainted than Gun-

ton with ancient English history; and to qualify himself for his task as editor and annotator, he bestowed a more diligent perusal upon the Swapham. He also consulted many unpublished MSS. elsewhere; and, amongst the rest, a MS. chronicle lent him by Sir John Cotton, which, according to the title, was written by John, abbot of Burch [Peterborough], and marked in Cotton's Library, *Claudius*, A. 5. Abbot John's MS., though in fact a chronicle of *national*, and not *local* history, contains some particulars of Burch not to be met with elsewhere. The writer's identity, and the age in which he flourished, were disputed, until settled by Patrick in the preface to his Gunton. He was undoubtedly John de Caux, a Frenchman, cousin to Henry the Third's queen; made a monk at seven years old; educated in the old monastery at Winchester; and raised from prior of that church to the abbacy of Burch in 1249. Further remarkable as being one of the king's justices in eyre; and censured by Matthew Paris because he, a monk, exercised that office.\*

\* Dr. Patrick's conclusion has been disputed by abbot John's editor, Sparke, without the least appearance of reason.

Struck, as it seems, by certain passages in this MS., Patrick appears to have entertained a passing doubt respecting Elsinus' succession, but not sufficient to weigh any thing against Hugo's authority, and the other monk-writers, followed without objection by Gunton. "Elsinus, (says he), called also Elfinus, and Alfinus: between whom and Kenulfus there was another abbot, namely, Kinsinus, if we may believe the MS. chronicle of John, abbot of this church, which I have so often cited. For though he say, ad an. 1006, that upon Kenulfus' removal, Elsinus succeeded him, and was the third abbot after the restoration; yet, ad an. 1048, speaking concerning the suit which the abbot of Peckirk had for the lands of his monastery, (which, by the judgment of the court of Hardecnute, as I shall shew hereafter, were given away from him,) he saith it was *contra Kenulfum et Kinsinum, Abbates Burgi*. And that this was no mistake, we may learn from his remark upon the year 1051, where he saith expressly, Elfinus succeeded him in this monastery. *Alfricus, Ebor. Archiepiscopus, obiit, et apud Burgum sepelitur; cui successit Kinsinus Abbas Burgi; Cui successit Elfinus in Abbatem promotus, Monachus ejusdem loci*. And again, ad an. 1060: *Obiit*



*Kinsinus, Eborac. Archiep., quondam Abbas Burgi, &c.*

“ What truth there is in this, I am not able to say from any other record ; but that he was a great man, and archbishop of York, and here buried, it will appear more hereafter when I come to that time ; and we have gained this piece of knowledge from John, abbot, that Alfinus was a monk of Burch, and chosen to be abbot, saith Hugo, by the unanimous consent of the whole congregation, whom he governed fifty years. By which account, Kinsinus must either never have been abbot here, or but for a few days or months.”—*Patrick*, p. 250.

“ Abbot Elsinus (says Gunton) was three years in Normandy with queen Emma, where he also collected many other relics, and, like a laborious bee, stored his abbey with them. It happened at that time that there was a great dearth in that country of Normandy, insomuch that many of the inhabitants forsook the country and planted themselves in other places. The abbey of St. Florentinus having spent their treasures in buying food, and having nothing left them but the shrine of their saint and patron, at length they sold him also, all but his head,\* which they still reserved to themselves ; Elsi-

\* Saxon Chronicle, anno 1013.

nus having bought the body, sent it to Peterborough, whither the monks of that abbey in Normandy did often repair to do their devotions to their saint.”—*Gunton*, p. 14.

“ From the same chronicle of abbot John we learn also when it was that Elfinus went into Normandy, and upon what occasion, which was not till the year 1013. When Suanus, coming with innumerable Danes into England, and exercising unheard of cruelties, king Ethelred hardly escaped his hands, and sent away his wife *per Abbatem Burgi*, and another person, unto Richard, Duke of Normandy, he himself following her presently after,”\* &c.—*Patrick*, 251.

From all which (and other passages might be adduced) it will appear that Patrick had no serious doubt of Hugo’s correctness.

“ Elfinus procured from Canutus a confirmation of privileges in as ample a manner as they had been confirmed to Kenulfus by king Ethelred; in these words: *Ego Cnut Rex Anglorum, Deo favente, & Elfino Abbate deprecante, hoc Privilegium cum optimatibus corroboravi.*”—*Patrick*, p. 251.

“ Towards the latter end of the government of

\* Saxon Chronicle, anno 1013.

Elsinus, all our historians agree (says Patrick) that Elfricus, or Alfricus, (for his name is diversely written as the other Elsinus is) was buried in this church. He had been bred up here, but came to be first bishop of Winchester,\* as Thomas Stubbs tells us, (Actus Pont. Ebor.) and afterwards archbishop of York: who had a palace at Suthwell, where he died anno MLI, and commemorated here in this church of Burgh upon the 23d January; over against which I find in the Kalendar these words: *Deposito Elfrici Archiepiscopi*. He was succeeded in his see by Kinsinus, or Kinsius, as some call him, (Radulph de Diceto calls him Kinsigius,) then chaplain to King Edward the Confessor.”—*Pat.* 254.

It has been already observed, that Gunton receives without objection Hugo’s account of Elsinus’ succession in 1006, and his session of fifty years. But it cannot be very clearly collected whether or not he was satisfied with that account: the nature of his doubts, however, if any, does not appear. In p. 15, he writes:

“ In the time of this abbot, Elsinus, anno 1051, Elfricus, Archbishop of York, died at

\* A mistake something akin to Wharton’s: Stubbs calls him *Præpositus* Winton.

Southwell, and was buried at Peterborough, where he had been a monk ; *of whom more hereafter.* Elsinus, having been abbot here for the space of fifty years, died anno 1055 ; and there succeeded *Arwinus or Ernwinus*. He was made abbot by election ; but liking better a private life, he freely surrendered his government after eight years continuance therein. In his time, anno 1059, or as some say, 1060, died Kinsius, archbishop of York, and was buried in the church of Peterborough, where he had been a monk ; *of whom again hereafter.* About this time, S. Wulstan, formerly a monk of Peterborough, was made bishop of Worcester anno 1062."

There is no further notice, however, throughout the whole of Gunton's book, either of Elfricus or Kinsinus. In the margin, opposite the name of Kinsinus, there is the name *Ingulfus*, as if for a reference.

I think the passages in Gunton, promising further notice of Elfricus and Kinsius, may be his editor's interpolations, and point to his own account in the supplement, for he takes no notice of the apparent deficiency. This is a very unusual liberty if it be so, and I find no other instance of his meddling with the text.

Since the Peterborough historians thus easily admit, and, in general, without suspicion, that Elsinus was Kenulfus' successor, we turn to Ingulfus, who wrote his history but eight miles distant, and forty or fifty years only after Elfric's death.

Between Croyland and Peterborough there stood a little convent called Peykirk [i. e. Peg's Church,\*] which was patronized by Croyland, but so ineffectually, that the whole foundation was awarded to one of the abbots of Peterborough in a lawsuit. Ingulfus would have us believe that this judgment was unduly obtained ; and thus speaks of Elsinus :

“ A<sup>o</sup>. 1047. Wolgatus, abbot of St. Peg's, having sustained a very long suit against Elsinus, Arwinus, and Leofricus, abbots of Burch, was at length defeated by judgment of the king's court, and lost the very walls of his house : so much more powerful at that time was money than justice, and cunning than truth ; and so great the influence of Earl Godwin with Hardecnute.” Now there was no Elsinus ; and it seems that neither Arwinus, nor Leo-

\* Turketul, an abbot of Croyland, who preceded Ingulfus, had repaired this old church, and annexed it to Croyland.

fricus, had any thing to do with this suit ; for Arwinus was certainly not abbot before Feb. 1051, which was in the ninth year of Edward the Confessor. And yet Ingulfus wrote advertently, for he mentions the matter in another place,\* where he declares the Danes worked nothing but ruin. “ There was an instance of this (says he) in the case of St. Peg’s, in Hardecnute’s time ; when the abbot of Burch’s money and Earl Godwin together,” &c. &c.

Thus far Ingulfus ; and we may stop for a moment to ask a reasonable question. Is it possible that his history is here entire ? He complains of a bitter injury† which he and his eighty monks still warmly resented ; and many of them, without a doubt, remembered all the particulars. He could never surely suppose that Leofric or Arwin were abbots so early as Hardecnute’s time ; nor is it likely that the offending abbot’s name was mistaken or forgot. He must have been Kinsinus, as will hereafter appear.

We have mentioned abbot John and his

\* In the Conqueror’s time.

† The abbots of Croyland’s right (for they also had a show of right as above-mentioned) seems to have been very doubtful.

chronicle, and that it expressly mentions abbot Kinsinus.

By this writer we are much assisted in collecting the true succession of abbots: he was educated, as we have seen, at Winchester, and was elected abbot of Burch something less than two hundred years after Elfric's death. He must have written about a hundred years later than Hugo. As he professed to write a national chronicle, we expect no very particular notice of Peterborough. He has made several mistakes, however, respecting this abbey, some of them attributable to haste and inadvertence, and others to real difficulties: the records of Peterborough were perverted before his time. I think he must have heard (at Winchester probably) of other abbots of Peterborough, since Kenulfus, of whom there was no mention in Hugo, for, apparently, he has taken some trouble to reconcile the variance: we are much indebted to his blunders in the attempt.

These are extracts from his book:—

“ MVI. Alfricus, Archbishop of Canterbury, died; to whom succeeded S. Elphegus, bishop of Winchester; for whom Kenulfus, abbot of Peterborough, substituted in See *Wint.*; to whom succeeded Elsius, third abbot from the restau-

ration: he, coming to the monastery of S. Florentine," [&c., as in Hugo and the Peterborough copy of the Saxon Chronicle.]

" **MXIII.** Suanus entering England with an innumerable army, committed the most shocking cruelties, and reduced all the nobility to his will. Ethelred, hardly escaping his hands, first sent over his wife by the B. of Durham \* and the Abb. Peterborough to Rich. Duke of Normandy; and at length followed his wife and children himself."

" **MX XIII.** Wulstan, archbishop of York, died; to whom succeeded Alfricus, prior [Præpositus] of Winchester."

Thus far he has followed the Peterborough records without scruple.

" **MXLVII.** Wulgatus, abbôt of Peykirk, by the judgment of King Hardecnute, lost the site of his abbey, with all the manors formerly belonging thereto. This was at the suit of *Kenulfus*† and *Kinsinus*, abbots of Peterborough, who claimed Peykirk for their property."

\* Others have been mistaken in this particular; it was not the bishop of Durham, (who was *Alfdun*;) but *Alfhun*, bishop of London.

† If any other abbot than Kinsinus began this suit, it must have been Elfricus.



This is *good*: here is an evident abbreviation of three passages in Ingulfus, (two of which we have noticed;) for neither the Peterborough, nor any other historians besides, take note of this suit. Abbot John had then an *entire* copy of Ingulfus.

“ MLI. Alfricus, Archbishop of York, died; buried at Peterborough;—to whom succeeded Kinsius, abbot of Peterborough; to whom succeeded Elsius, a monk of the place, promoted to be abbot.”

“ MLX. Kinsius, Archbishop of York, died; formerly Abbot of Peterborough; to whom succeeded, &c. Archbishop Kinsius died at Peterborough, and lies buried in the shrine next the great altar, north side.”

Abbot John's plan of succession in the abbey is, apparently, inconsistent: Elsius is made to succeed Kenulfus in 1006, and also Kinsinus in 1051. Nor were there two *Elsies*; at least, there is no mention of the death of the first. The truth, I believe, is apparent enough. *Elfricus* succeeded *Kenulfus* in 1005; *Kinsinus* succeeded *Elfricus* in 1023, on his promotion to York; and followed him also in that see in 1051; in which year not *Elsinus*, but *Arwinus* was elected abbot.

I have carefully examined abbot John's *MS.*, in hopes of finding that Elfricus was first written for Elsinus in 1006; but there is but one erasure in all the above extracts; and abbot John was deceived.

The erasure I mean occurs in 1051; Elsinus' second appearance seems to have had something to do with it. The passage is precisely this; and the words written on the erasure (in the same hand as the rest of the *MS.*,) are, *Cui succ.* at the end of the second line:

*MLI. Alfric' Ebor. Archieps. ob. & ap. Burgūsepelit.*

*Cui succ' Kins' Abbas Burgi Cui succ'*

*Elsī ī Abbatē p. mot. Monach. ejdē, loci.*

In writing the year 1013, abbot John either misliked his first Elsinus, or used a copy of Florence, and not Hugo, or the Peterborough Saxon Chronicle; for he has followed the first-mentioned author in omitting the abbot's name. Simeon of Durham also omits the name.

There are means, I believe, whereby these facts may be established beyond all doubt, and Wharton's discovery fully confirmed. His system perfected, is the key (if we are not mista-

ken) to our whole history under the Danish princes, including their entry and exit. The development is curious, and the consequence being thus important, we shall not be sparing in our notice of Elfric.

We shall then be better prepared for the History of the Saxon Chronicle.\*

\* In our notice of Malmsbury's Wulstan, some remarks will be found respecting the substitution of the name Elsinus for Elfric's, A.D. 1013. The precise time, and the particular agent of that substitution, we shall endeavour to shew; it is most likely, as there must have been an account of the abbotcies of Elfric and Kinsinus amongst the rest, they were cut away at the same time.

Gunton thus remarks the poverty of Abbot Elsinus' (i. e. Elfric's) history:—

“Elsinus, or Elsius, of whom I find no glorious character recorded by writers save this, (if it may be so accounted,) that he was very inquisitive after reliques, with which he was very industrious to enrich his monastery;”—and he proceeds to give a list of them from Swapham and Whittlesey.

No part of the Roman Catholic faith is of so little repute at present as the article of relics, though they certainly have been of wonderful efficacy in kindling devotion. The mischief of this appetite was, that it could not be defended against imposture; and the collectors were not all like Elfric, judicious and rich, devout, single-minded, and sincere. It may be doubted whether the contents of this catalogue were wholly his.

We shall have occasion to mention hereafter, that Elfric is the author of those Saxon annals in Cotton's Library, codex Tiberius B. 4, down to the end of 1017. They contain clear evidence (as I think) that he was abbot of Peterborough from 1006.

And from his Epistles to Abp. Sigeric, which have been mentioned before, he was clearly aware of the importance of the times \* as early

With all their dryings, and wrappings, and cases within cases, there must have been something offensive in the relics of flesh : one of the most celebrated in this church was the arm of King Oswald the Martyr, thus described in Hugo :—

“Cum digitis dextram; cute, sanguine, carneque tectam  
Oswaldi Regis, Burgensis continet ædis :  
Ungues sunt tales, fuerant vivo sibi quales ;  
Intus in hac dextrâ paret cernentibus extra  
Nervus, et hinc vena dextra junctura serena  
In cubiti veluti nova paret fossa veruti  
Quo fuit appensum pretiosum martyris armum.”

Out of this list of relics one or two might be named as seeming to support our theory :—the arm of St. Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, (in whose church Elfric was schooled ;) and another, wherein his superstition is eloquent—a knot of the bishop Ethelwold's hair.

\* In his second epistle, after adverting to the former, he writes, *Et licet multis injuriis infestum piratarum concutiebamur*, &c. “Since I transmitted to your Holiness

as 990. From that year to 1017, twenty-seven years, I take his Annals to be a contemporary work. Sigeric, dying in 995, was succeeded by Alfric *Pseudo-grammaticus* — who died 16th November, 1005; and his death occasioned this change in the church—the bishop Elphegus to Canterbury, the abbot Kenulfus to Winchester, and our Elfricus to Peterborough.\*

Kenulfus (translated by Malmsbury, who says he bought Winchester) is one of the most famous names for learning in our elder history. Pitts numbers him amongst English writers; but whatever he may have written is lost. He was a great friend of Elfric's, and apparently a worthy man.†

the Sermons before-mentioned, we have been shaken by the manifold blows of these pestilent strangers; but I have finished this work notwithstanding, though with a troubled mind, for I wish not to be numbered with deceitful flatterers," &c.

\* Elfric's *Life of Ethelwold*, apparently written two years before, was not presented till now.

† Hugo's account of him is the largest we have. It might almost be applied to Elfric:—

“Decus et norma rerum divinarum et sæcularium. Jam vero ordinatus, quantâ diligentia, et instantiâ, et

The advocates of education must contemplate our abbot's pursuits at Peterborough with great pleasure. He was the principal creator of English literature; and this abbey was his workshop. Elfric praises both Ethelwold and Wulstan indeed, and liberally, as the

quàm bene Oville sibi creditum rexit; et quàm mitem et pacificum et humilem Ovibus suis se exhibuit, et quàm vigilantiam curam pastorem exegerit, quanto studio libros emendaverit, quam dulciter, et libenter ad se venientes, vel secum morantes erudierit; quàm dilectus Deo et hominibus extiterit, quomodo Monasterium muro cinxit; et Res ecclesiæ suæ auxerit non est nostræ parvitas explicare. Concurrunt cotidie tam ex longinquis, quàm et de proximis terrarum finibus Episcopi, Clerici, et Monachi, Divites et Mediocres, ad ejus Magisterium; et ad ejus, ut et quondam Salomonis, sapientiam audiendum: Donec post annum quatuordecim *rapitur* magis quam eligitur ad pontificium Wintoniensis Civitatis." But that Hugo did not confound Kenulfus with Elfricus, appears, from his account of Kenulfus' successor, totally inapplicable to *Kinsinus*; less so to *Elfricus*.

"Successit tamen et Huic in Monasterii regimine, pari sagacitate, et virtute animi Vir, Elsinus, quem sibi omnis concors congregatio abbatem elegerat et postulaverat. Hic per 50 annos eandem Ecclesiam rexit," &c. &c., "etiam per tres annos cum regina Emma in Normanniâ demoratus est, et inde regis Ethelredi et ipsius Reginæ gratiam multum promeruit," &c. &c.

revivers of learning, which was buried, says he, till they restored it; but he was the first himself who was worthy to be called a schoolmaster. It is very apparent that part of his own annals was collected, not from books, but report; and that Ethelwold had not in his school a copy of Plegmund's Canterbury Annals. To know something of our native soil is almost the first step in knowledge. It seems, however, judging from Kenulfus and Elfric, that Ethelwold directed his pupils in the right way; and though not a man of great learning himself, we have no reason to doubt the progress of some *others* of his disciples. He first translated St. Benedict's Rule into English. "It was from his teaching," says Elfric, "that many of his disciples became priests, and abbots, and honourable bishops, and some came to be archbishops over England."

One of Elfric's most considerable works at Peterborough is his Grammar,\* which seems to have been undertaken early in his abbotcy; and this was followed, I think, by his Colloquies

\* In the copy in the Inner Lib. Coll. Joh. Bapt., Oxon, it is called *Ælfrici Præsulis Grammatica*, &c. 1 Hicckes, 104.

for boys, and some other Latin exercises. The one beginning, "*We cildra biddath*,"\* has in

\* Many superior men in our own day have laboured successfully to enlarge the human mind, and not without recompense. They work, indeed, under every facility and advantage, and at least secure of a due portion of credit. But in what degree are we bound, and what should be the extent of our acknowledgments to this *great man*, who worked to such effect in the dark? His only motives were a Christian love of his kind, and a deep sense of the importance of wisdom; or in part, perhaps, a generous desire to live in the memory of Englishmen.

I cannot believe that he was not a man of *considerable* MIND, (as we understand the word,) though Mr. Turner has expressed an opinion to the contrary. His Colloquies, for instance, seem to be the original model of those of Commenius and his followers, and which, as a pleasing means of instruction, continue in favour to the present hour: indeed, the plan has never been surpassed.

I think it very probable that Elfric's Annals were also used in his school; not so much, however, from any document to that effect, as from the known reasonableness of his views of education, of which history is an important part. There were few books in his time except his own; and his Annals in particular are so pithy, interesting, and plain, that they almost seem to have been written for this express purpose. We know also, that our abbot was accustomed to stoop to the inclinations of children, for their good, creating a will, if pos-



its language every mark of the locality of Peterborough, and so strongly, that it almost proves Elfric's abbey of itself.

Another very important work of Elfric's, whilst abbot, was his two Pastoral Epistles, written for and under the name of Wulstan, archbishop of York. They were first written in Latin; but Wulstan, suggesting that they would be more generally understood in English, Elfric sent him an English version the following year. These two Epistles contain all the knowledge we have of the manners of the rustic clergy, and as complete as we could desire. The Prologue is to this effect:—

“ We have followed your Grace's biddings, as you see, having translated into English the two letters which we had written in Latin, and

sible, as the readiest road to knowledge. I observe that Mr. Ingram, by a kind of side wind, seems to note and commend this same feeling in Elfric, and that with a warmth which does him infinite credit:—

“ *Wyllan* is defective, as it wants the imperative mood; the reason of which is thus philosophically expressed by the Saxon grammarian:—‘ *Forthan the se willa sceall beon æfre frih* ’—For the will must ever be free: a sentence worth more than the whole *Hermes* of Harris.”—*Preface to Saxon Chronicle*.

designed for you last year. We have not exactly preserved the same order, however, as before, nor the same language; but the sense is much the same. Let us hope that our endeavours may in some cases be a means of profit and amendment. There are others whom these discourses will not very well please, I know. But it is not advisable that we should be for *ever* silent—*never* unfold the Divine will to those under our authority: if not the principal herald, who *is* to announce that the Judge cometh? Farewell! God prosper you!"

Amongst his other works, whilst abbot, we may reckon his Rules and Customs for Monks, drawn from Ethelwold's Book of Customs, for the use of the friars of Eynesham, with additions;

An Epistle to one Sigeferth: Expostulatory;

A Treatise on the Trinity: To Wulfgatus;

A Book on the Old and New Testaments:  
To Sigwerd, or Siward;

And much besides; for which see the Catalogue of Cotton's Library.

To these may, perhaps, be added,

His Glossary;

His Life of Ethelwold;

And his Annals.\*

During the first ten years of his abbotcy, the

\* If there had been an Elsinus, abbot of *Peterborough*, (as there *was* of *Ely*,) about Elfric's time, some little accidental confusion, from the likeness of the two names, might be supposed; but I think there was not: and accident had no part in our mistake.

Gunton, from Hugo, Whittlesey, and Swapham, relates that Elsinus died 1055, and was succeeded by Arwinus, or Arnwius; and Patrick agrees in this account, remarking, that the year of Elsinus' death was confirmed by abbot John, and many others, and that archbishop Elfric died four years before. This would leave four years for the session of an Elsinus, or some other abbot.

For I think it plain, that on Elfric's death, 24th January 1051, Kinsinus, his successor in Peterborough, followed him in the archbishoprick. There was either an abbot, then, between Kinsinus and Arwinus, or Arwinus succeeded in January 1051.

As it seems he did, though the Peterborough writers say not.

"1055. Obiit *Ælsius*, Abbas Burgi, cui successit *Erwinus*," &c.—*Hugo Candid. Sparks*, 41.

"1057. Electus est pro eo, cum consensu regis, et ipsius." &c., "*Leuricus*," &c.—*Ibid*.

"*Arwinus* was made abbot by election, which deservedly passed upon him, being a man of great holiness and simplicity; but he liking better a private and solitary life, freely surrendered his government, after eight years'

kingdom was miserably torn to pieces by the Danes ; as will best appear from Elfric's own

continuance therein. In his time, anno 1059, or as some say, 1060, died Kinsius, Archbishop of York."—*Guntton*, 15.

"*Eruius*, as some call him, or *Arnewinus*, was chosen by the whole company ; being *Vir miræ sanctitatis et simplicitatis*, as Hugo characterizes him ; who, out of too much simplicity, changed the royal village of *Holmeie* for *Stokes*, for no other reason but because it was a nearer way to his own farm to go by *Stokes*. In this private farm it was, I suppose, that he chose to live, rather than in this great dignity ; wherein he continued a far less time than Mr. G. mentions. For if William the Conqueror came into England the 11th year, (it should be the 9th,) of *Leofricus*, as Hugo saith, then *Arewynus* could not possibly be abbot here eight years ; for *Elsinus* dying, as hath been shown, 1055, there passed from thence till the coming in of the Conqueror, which was 1066, no more than eleven years. He resigned, therefore, his place, after he had been two years abbot, anno 1057, (as it is in the margin of Hugo ;) and after that he lived eight years. So the words of Hugo run very plainly, *Hic in prosperitate vite sue voluntarie dimisit Abbatiam suam VIII, postea feliciter vivens annos*. And so I find it in the MS. Chronicle of abbot John, ad an. 1057. *Arewynus, Abbas Burgi, demisit se de abbatia; cui successit egregius Pater Leofricus*."—*Patrick*, 254, 255.

But the blunders on this subject abound. In Sparke's printed Hugo we read, that William came in *Leofric's*

relation. Every page of it confirms our two-fold theory, (if further proof were wanting;) namely, that he was abbot of Peterborough, and wrote these Annals. We will instance the year 1013.

"1013. The Danes came over Watling-street,\* and committed the greatest possible

13th year. Whether it be so or not in the MS. I cannot say; but *that* also is a mistake, for he certainly came in Leofric's 14th or 15th year.

This is the report of the later Peterborough Saxon Annals, (not *Elfric's*,) where, sub anno 1052, we find—

"And on this ylcan tyme for-let Arnwi, abbot of Burh, Abbot-ricc, be his halre life, (i. e. though in good health,) and geaf hit Leofric, Munec; be thes cynges. leafe, and be thære Muneces; and se Abbot Arnwi lifode swyðthon VIII wintre," &c.

When we come to speak of the Annals last mentioned, we distinguish between facts recorded, as here, under their proper year, and plain interpolations, as in the year 963

Erwinus, then, was elected abbot after Kinsinus, in January 1051, and sat more than a year, since he resigned in 1052. A table of the true succession of abbots, from Adulfus to the Conquest, will be found towards the end: this note is already too long.

\* Are there sufficient grounds to distrust the prior of Barnewell's description of Watling-street? for there are more reasons than one in favour of it. I think it might

enormities, [&c. &c.]; and thereupon the queen went over sea, and Elfsinus, abbot of Burch, with her; and the king sent Elfun, bishop, with the princes, Edward and Alfred, over sea; and he was to instruct them."

Compare the above account with Ingulfus.

"1013. King Swain coming with a fresh fleet, he and his ferocious countrymen destroyed all before them. Pouring out of Lindsey, they set fire to every place of habitation, and tore out the bowels of the inhabitants. The religious, also, they put to death with a variety of tortures. They burned down Baston and Langtoft. They totally destroyed the convent of St. Peg, with all its contiguous manors; namely, Glinton, Norborough, Maxey, Etton, Badington, and Barnack. Every family was cut off, or led away in bonds. The abbot of St. Peg fled in the night with the whole brotherhood, and, coming in boats to Croyland,

be shown to run, (as he says,) from St. Albans, through Market-street, Caxton, Godmanchester, and so by way of Huntingdon, Stilton, and over the Lolham Bridges; thus holding, for many miles, the course of the north road. All the villages Ingulfus mentions lie just over or upon this line.

they were saved. In like manner, the abbey of Peterborough and the surrounding villages, and the manors of Eye, Thorp, Walton, Werrington, Paston, Dogsthorp, and Castor, were first stripped and then given to the flames. The abbot, with the greater part of his convent, went to Thorney; the prior, with a few of the monks, escaped to the Isle of Ely; and ten of them, with the sub-prior, came to Croyland. Happily, by reason of the heavy rains that year, the country round us was under water," &c.

Thus it appears Elfrie had a narrow escape. From Thorney, he seems to have made his way to London, and was immediately sent abroad in charge of the queen.

We have transcribed Hugo, to the effect that the abbot remained with the queen three years; which seems to be a mistake, though it might be three years before he was again seen in the Fens; for Ingulfus informs us, that "in 1017,\* when Canutus began his reign, the return of peace was proclaimed through every province in England; and thereupon, the venerable abbot

\* Edmund died 30th Nov. 1016. Just about three years.

(of Croyland) sent all the monks to their own monasteries, whom he had entertained as his guests."

But the royal family returned, I think, in the winter after their flight; for on Swain's death, 3d February 1014, the English nobility recovered a degree of spirit; and though the fleet in the river proclaimed Canutus, they consulted in London, and sent over to Ethelred their singularly loyal address. This address received a speedy answer; the king's messenger also brought with him the young prince Edward; and from the minute relation of the message sent, and the answer returned, I am persuaded that the *ærend-raca*\* was no other than Elfric himself.

Canutus, sovereign, seems to have heartily repented of his former brutalities; and his reign was certainly a relief to the people. Let us take occasion, at this late hour, to do justice to Elfric's memory.

We are told that he was all-powerful with the new king; and the wisest acts of this

\* The messenger from the king. See the Annals. Twenty instances might be cited of similar modesty: indeed, he never mentions himself.



reign may be probably assigned to his advice. Amongst these were the king's marriage with Emma, Ethelred's widow, which ensured the public tranquillity, and his ostensible respect for religion, in which the Danes were in general deficient.

He had hastily put Norman to death, as the faithful servant of his base master, Alfric. This wrong he repaired, and established Norman's brother, Leofric, in Alfric's government of Mercia, which he and his family held till the Conquest.

No man in England was so competent as Elfric to draw up the laws called the Laws of Canute; and therefore I take these to be his.

Of his readiness, as well as his power, to serve his neighbours with the king, there is a signal instance in Gunton: it is the case of Ramsey Abbey, which Canutus had determined to destroy. \*

To what can we attribute the peaceful glory of this reign, but to good counsels? We find

\* When Elphege's body was removed to Canterbury, Canutus is said to have lifted it from the earth with his own hands. On the same day he seems to have given Elfric the archbishoprick, which fell vacant a few days before.

Canutus was so cruel by nature, that he cut off the hands, ears, and noses of unoffending hostages ; and certainly he was in no other respect Cæsar's counterpart. It was a virtue, however, to listen to justice ; and, with respect to Elfric, I cannot doubt that he will take his place in our future history, second only to Alfred.

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We are now approaching one of the most strange and involved transactions ever devised : it is the cause of all our mistakes respecting Elfric, and seems also an extraordinary proof of his great reputation. But what is to be said upon this subject will be better understood if we first consider Malmesbury's Life of S. Wulstan.



WILLIELMI, MÓNACHI ET BIBLIO-  
THECARIÏ MALMESBURIENSIS, LI-  
BRI TRES, DE VITA S. WULSTANI,  
EPISCOPI WIGORN.

[2 *ANGLIA SACRA.*]

EXTRACTS.

Wulstan was born\* at Icentun in Warwickshire; his parents' names were Ethelstan and Wulfgife, (whence his own name.) They were pretty well born, and of a fair estate. "He was initiated into the first rudiments of learning at

\* Our author informs us that he was in his eighty-seventh year when he died, (19 Jan. 1095.) He was born therefore in 1008.

In Stevens' *Monasticon*, i. 163, it is said, "that the very children, offered up to the benedictine monasteries at five years of age, were obliged to abstinence;" but it

Evesham, but in his tender years he was removed to Peterborough as a better school. And it is a pleasure to record the many tokens of his future good qualities, which were already visible when he had scarcely crossed the threshold of childhood: the future saint was eloquently foretold in the modesty of the lad. He submitted to the same fasts to which the men were at that time subject; he refused not to work, and had his humble prayers. Childish talkativeness, the source of lying and deceit, he first checked in himself and afterwards discountenanced in others. He began early to tread in the steps of manhood; and earnestly besought, as well those of his own age as his seniors, to chalk out a pattern of holy life for his example: He wished to be reprov'd if he did aught amiss: *ipse libens correctioni manus daret*. His devotion was so much increased by practice, that whatever he saw which was commendable, he proposed to imitate. By such means he testified that he was already wise, and would continue to be, "*Corripe sapientem et amabit Te.*" Moreover, he did that (and naturally, and of himself)

was not the case under Elfric at Peterborough, (see the Colloquy.) Children were also excused or favoured in the regular work.

which ancient philosophy recommends—he had constantly before his eyes the image of some venerable man, and respect for this fancied presence influenced all he thought, and said, and did. We should not easily stray from the right path if we would but think always either of God or of man: fear would restrain us.

“He had at that time a master named Ervenius, who was very skilful in writing and painting any thing, and who let Wulstan have two books to read—a Sacramental and a Psalter—in which the capital letters were gilded and illuminated. He was much taken with these little painted histories; and whilst he intently examined their beauty, his memory drank deep of the knowledge they contained. But the Doctor, looking to his worldly advantage and for the hope of gain, gave the Sacramental to Canutus, who was then king, and the Psalter to Emma, the queen. The mind of the scholar, childlike, was much affected by the loss, and he sighed after these books from the bottom of his heart. Weary with grief, he fell asleep, and thought a man of angelic appearance sat by him, who chased his melancholy away, and promised that the books should be forthcoming. And

indeed the promise was performed, but very long after,\* as will be seen in the sequel."

We are told that Wulstan continued to lead an exemplary life, (as no doubt he did,) and at length left Peterborough and returned to his parents. Whilst living with them, it would seem, however, there was considerable danger of his falling away; for he was persecuted by a girl with so little mercy, that he found it difficult to resist. Her parents were neighbours of his. He must have been still very young:—but hear William himself:—

\* The restitution is mentioned in a subsequent part of the Life:

"King Edward sent Aldred (bishop of Worcester) to Cologne, to manage some business with the Emperor Henry the Elder; and he, having found favour in the Emperor's sight, stayed some time for his own pleasure, after his business was finished. Whilst he was there, either out of respect for himself or his master, he received many presents; and amongst others, some one presented him with the two books above mentioned. For Canutus had long ago sent those very books to the people of Cologne, in order to purchase their good opinion. And so Aldred, ignorant of that prophetic promise formerly made to Wulstan, gave him those books on his return to this country, because he thought he deserved them better than any other," &c.

“Denique, manum prensitare, oculo annuere, et cætera quæ sunt morituræ virginitatis indicia, lascivis etiam gestibus impudicitæ facere solebat. Sed cum is, castitatis instinctu, impudicæ desideria frustraretur, hoc modo pæne illum venata est; convenerat in campum frequens cætus adolescentium, cuinam lætius ludo vacans non definio, [i. e. *Wulstano* :] *Cursitabatur*, ut fieri solet in talibus, virentis graminis æquore; plausui et favori adhortantium respondens stridulus aër: *Emicat* inter alios *Wulstanus*, communique cunctorum iudicio illius ludi triumphum reportat: *Agrestium* multitudo in laudes acclamat; easdem ut ejus famularetur auribus, repetit et geminat.” In this unguarded moment he was again assailed by his young enemy, and his resolution began to fail: he escaped, however, into a thicket, where, without restraint, he gave way to his remorse—fell asleep—a vision—never subject to such an infirmity afterwards.

“Coleman\* asserts that he learned these particulars from Hemming, the sub-prior, who had them from the bishop himself.”

\* “Hoc se *Colemannus* ab *Hemmingo*, sub-priore, didicisse asseruerat; qui ab ipso sancto postmodum *Episcopo* ea se audisse memoraret: solebat enim Reve-



Wulstan's father and mother becoming tired of the world, they both entered into religion, in the monasteries in Worcester: "*Remansit interim Wulstanus in sæculo, specie, non mente; non animo, sed corpore.*" But that he might behold virtue of a superior degree, and wean himself gradually from earthly pursuits, he visited the court of Britegus, the bishop of Worcester. The bishop received him readily, and as well to gratify his friends as out of natural goodwill, he encouraged in Wulstan the signs of divine grace. Neither was Wulstan backward in recommending himself; he secured by his unexceptionable conduct, the favour of the most sullen and perverse; he was neither pert nor ill-tempered; and, what is the chief ornament of persons of his time of life, he was insuperably modest. These internal qualities were crowned and set off by a handsome person; which, though not to be reckoned amongst the virtues, yet I do not altogether exclude, for like the skill of the artist, it shines most if the materials are rich.

"By these arts he so gained upon the bishop  
*rendissimus Pater pro ætate et capacitate audientium  
 moderari sermonem!*" Coleman and Hemming will  
 appear again.

that he advanced him to the priesthood\* of his own accord, which honour it was with great difficulty he was brought to accept. For it is to be remarked of Wulstan, that he seemed to himself unworthy, to others an ornament of this office, to which he neither aspired through arrogance, nor stained and disgraced by sloth. He endeavoured to reduce his body, and enlarge the powers of his mind, by fasting and spare diet. He was subdued in spirit, serious in speech, reverend in appearance, and easy in mind; seemingly a layman, but qualified for a monk.

“If he saw in any one aught he judged amiss, he so tempered his notice of it that the bitterness of reproof seemed to melt into commendation; it might sound a little hard, but could not seem angry, for charity was mixed with it.

“The bishop offered him more than once a church in the country, with an income which

\* Lib. iii. c. 2. “Britegus, as before mentioned, advanced him from first orders to Priest’s, and then gave him in charge the church of Hawkesbury. The down of manhood was then first appearing upon his chin; and though he spent not his whole time in luxury, like a mere worldling, yet he did not object to the pleasures of the table. It happened one day when he had ordered a goose to be spitted,” &c.

would have been an abundant provision for him. He frequently refused it, without assigning any reason ; and at length, being much pressed, he opened his mind, declaring that he was dissatisfied with the world altogether, that in his estimation it was a nothing, and that he was resolved to give himself wholly to God, (not in part only,) and to become a monk." The bishop fully concurred, and he took the habit.

" Never was a monk, in our age, more free from vice, more perfect in virtue. And the sincerity of his life being seen, the friars of the church made him, not long after, Warden of the boys, then Precentor, and lastly Sacrist."

And he was subsequently made prior by the bishop Aldred.

" 1060. Archbishop Kinsinus dying, Aldred was appointed his successor. Aldred going to Rome, as was customary, for his pall, found Nicholas, the then Pope, resolved at first to refuse it. He, Aldred, would not resign Worcester ; Nicholas refused to confer the pall without ; and the bishop had such an affection for Worcester that he was willing to sacrifice the greater honour for that see. After a long and sharp trial, therefore, Aldred set out on his return ; Earl Tosti (who went with him) swearing

that, after what had happened, the money sent year after year to Rome should be stopped. They had no sooner reached the Alps, however, than they were set upon by thieves, and stripped of every thing: whereupon they returned to Rome in a miserable plight. This incident softened the Pope; and Aldred obtained his pall, on an understanding that he was to surrender Worcester to the most deserving person in his diocese." In the end, Wulstan was elected, 29th August, 1062.

The description of his unexceptionable conduct, as a priest and as a bishop, seems written with an angel's pen; and I believe the most beautiful and edifying passages are perfectly true.\* But if an opinion may be advanced, (anticipating the necessary proof) there are scarcely three words of truth in what precedes.

\* Malmsbury has given another Life of Wulstan, of considerable length, in his *Gesta Pont.* book 4. He begins thus:

*Wulstanus a puero, educatus, honeste, inter disciplinatos viros, et litterarum curam quanta tunc in Anglia erat adolevit: Cum, vero, id ætatis esset, presbyteratum accepit.* "Wulstan from a boy was carefully brought up amongst the benedictines; and as much care was bestowed upon him in regard to letters as could then be had in England. When he was of sufficient age, he was made a priest."

There are several inconsistencies which the reader must have already noticed, and therefore need not be pointed out. We will see how far these particulars of Wulstan's early youth are supported by other authorities.

Wharton has published (1 *Anglia Sacra*, 469) some short annals of Worcester, anonymous; wherein it is said, that "the bishop Wulstan, who was also archbishop of York, sat twenty-two years, and was succeeded by Leoferbis; (by whom, Wharton says, we are to understand Leofsius or Leofsinus, ex-abbot of Thorney;) he sat eleven years, and gave place to Britegus."

Now we know that Adulfus died bishop of York and Worcester, in May or June, 1003; and Wulstan, who succeeded in both sees, lived but twenty years after, dying 28 May, 1023. So that the writer plainly mistook the number of years, reckoning twenty-two instead of twenty. 1023, Leofsinus eleven years=1034. In or about which year, Britegus was certainly made bishop.

It is also certain that Britegus died 19 or 20 December, 1038; and was succeeded by Living, who died 23 March, 1046. Aldred succeeded Living in 1046; was sent to Cologne in 1054; made bishop of Hereford in 1056, and arch-

bishop of York in 1060; whereupon he resigned Hereford, but wished to retain Worcester.

And all our historians, with a very little difference in some of the dates, agree in this account of the bishops of Worcester.

I am rather surprised, however, that Wharton, who questioned many tenets on much slighter probabilities, should so clearly acquiesce in this.\* He was satisfied apparently by the great number and weight of authorities:—and these must be examined.

But we know that, of all his new subjects, Canutus probably valued Elfric the most; and it seems hardly to be supposed that, on Wulstan's death, he should reward him by halves. Worcester, a benedictine church, which York was not, had been always held annexed thereto by all the benedictine archbishops, namely,

\* The north of England being quieted, York again acknowledged Wulstan its archbishop: and after his death, Worcester also had its own bishop. The new bishop of Worcester was Leofsius, or Leofsinus, abbot of Thorney. Malmesbury calls him Lessius; and the Saxon annals of Peterborough, Leofricus. He died the 19th August, 1033, in his episcopal villa of Kemsey, and was buried in his own cathedral church." (1 Angl. Sacr. 473.)

Oswald, Adulfus, Wulstan. And they all seem to have resided principally in this monastery, where they were buried.\* Why should the king think the two sees too much for Elfric? Perhaps he did not.

If there is any reason in this conjecture, then, perhaps, Wulstan did not return from Peterborough, wavering as to his future life? Perhaps the story of the books is not perfectly true? Perhaps such books were to be seen at Worcester in Malmesbury's time, valued as the books in which Wulstan learned to read, and therefore to be mentioned? Perhaps Elfric himself was the Doctor Ervenius? (or was Erwinus abbot after Kinsinus?) Then the love story is not so certain? And probably, as he was born in 1008, he was distinguished at least by his first office† in Worcester, before Britegus's time, that is, before 1034?

But there is no end to these questions. Let us then propose another reading of Wulstan's early life.

He was not only schooled, but entered into religion at Peterborough. Noticed for his good sense and good qualities; and, on Elfric's elec-

\* Except Wulstan, who died accidentally at Ely.

† Custos puerorum—Usher in the school?

tion to York and Worcester, brought with him to Worcester.

This, it will be said, is contrary to all history. Indeed there are several great names adverse :— Hemming of Worcester, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, Diceto, the Saxon Chronicle, and Malmesbury himself. If these can be shaken, which we shall now see, probabilities may be considered afterwards.

And first, of *Hemming*, a monk and sub-prior of Worcester.

There is a life of Wulstan extant,\* written by this author, and, as it would seem, very shortly after the bishop's death. He was a favourite with Wulstan, and wrote also by his and the convent's desire, a larger work, "An Account of the Claims and Possessions of Worcester," published in the *Monasticon*.

In this latter work, Britegus is repeatedly mentioned, to his discredit, as a spoiler of the church. See titles *Elfinton* and *Sapian*, 129. *Halhega*, 131. *Benningworth*, 132.

"Aldred, Bishop, and Wulstan, then *Prior*; at the instance of Edric, the Forester," &c. 129.

"Norman, gave at the altar to Wulstan, then

\* Published, 1 *Angl. Sacr.* 541.



*Dean*, [Decanus,] and afterwards Bishop," &c. 129.

"It is very certain that Salwarp belongs to the monastery. One Godwin held it, Earl Leofric's brother; and being at the point of death, he confessed to Wulstan, &c. *Piæ memoriæ Wulstano tunc temporis, monacho et DECANO, postea vero Episcopo*, 130.

It is much more easy to point out the *spurious* than the *genuine* parts of this account of claims. Those seem, however, to be genuine where Wulstan is called prior. There were no deans in this church after the benedictines were once established.\*

In this document the name of *Leofsigus*, bishop, appears once;† but nothing it contains can stand against any reasonable probability.

A fair reason can hardly be found for transcribing such a book as this of claims and pos-

\* I observe that the spurious claims are generally at the expense of Earl Leofric's family.

† "Eo tempore quo Edric, Streona, [adquisitor, i. e. the winner,] sub rege, primitus Ethelredo, et postea, aliquandiu sub Cnut, omni anglorum regno præerat \* \* \* \* Ilic tantâ fretus potentiâ ab hujus monasterii possessione, Leofsigus episcopo existente, vi et fortitudine sua tres villas abstulit." 129, 130.

sessions; and yet the MS. in Cotton's library, *Tiberius A. XIII.* is certainly not the very original, though the only copy extant. It is in a good Norman hand, and the names of places, &c. which are in the Saxon character, are also freely and readily written. It may be as old as one of the two Williams, but I think rather *tem. Hen. 1.*

And there are some very doubtful appearances in Hemming's Life of Wulstan. It begins thus :

*Aluredus* Archiepiscopus Venerabilem Virum Wulstanum nondum ad Episcopatus apicem electum, *Ædituum* constituit Wigornensis Ecclesiæ." *Archbishop ALURED made Wulstan sacrist of the church of Worcester, before he was elected bishop* : " De die vero in diem ad meliora proficiens ; deique adjutorio, virtutes virtutibus addens, Prioratum Wigorniensis Ecclesiæ, dispensatione divina, coactus est suscipere." *And he was afterwards enforced to accept the office of prior.* Subsequently it is said : " Cernens autem venerandus Archiepiscopus *Aldredus* hunc servum dei bonis operibus insudare, (&c.) in Episcopatum Wigorn. Ecclesiæ decrevit eum sullevare." *Archbishop ALDRED resolved to make him bishop of Worcester*

I could almost think, that for *Aluredus* we should read *Aluricus*, i. e. *Elfric*; and for *Aldredus*, *Aldred*. There is no reason to object to bishop *Britegus*, made bishop in 1034. He was abbot of Pershore, and son of a sister of Archbishop *Wulstan*, *Elfric*'s predecessor: and since his reputation is without a stain, (for the tales in *Hemming* are not worth notice,) *Elfric*, now seventy, might very well resign *Worcester* in his favour.

Taking this to be true, *Wulstan* was twenty-six when *Elfric* left *Worcester*—too young, perhaps, to be sacrist? But still he might owe this office to his master *Elfric* a few years afterwards.

*Britegus*, dying December 1038, was succeeded by *Living*, who sat till March 1046;—a man of very questionable morals. He had two bishopricks before—*Crediton* and *Cornwall*, and *Worcester* made the third.

*Living* owed this prosperity to *Harold Harefoot*: the wages, as it was supposed, of a horrid service. His master, dying in 1040, was succeeded by *Hardecnute*; whereupon *Elfric* openly accused *Living* of a share in Prince *Alfred*'s murder, in 1036.

In consequence, *Living* was deprived of his

see of Worcester, which, as Wharton collects, was committed to Elfric for the present.

Edward, Confessor, Prince Alfred's brother, came to the throne in 1042; but instead of receiving due punishment, Living found means to recover his bishoprick, and to procure Elfric's deprivation as archbishop; before a successor could be found, however, he was restored.

During this two-years' administration, Wulstan being 32-34, may have been promoted to office. Aldred was not bishop till 1046.

It is observable that Malmesbury speaks frequently of Hemming, but does not mention his writings.

*2dly, Of Florence of Worcester.*

This author was also a monk of Worcester, where he died in 1119. His close adherence to the Saxon Chronicle, whence he drew a considerable part of his information, is a proof of his sincerity.

Florence records Bishop Leofsinus' death, 19th August 1033, and adds, that his body was honourably entombed in St. Mary's, his cathedral church; commends him also, as if from personal knowledge, and believes in his salvation.

This does not look natural, and is not like

Florence. Was it meant to overwhelm contradiction?

Wharton (and again without any apparent distrust,) notes an inconsistency in the date of this Leofsinus' death, which is worth transcribing.

"As to the day of his death, Florence is supported by the *Worcester Obituary*, which is very ancient; and yet he is wrong to say that the day was *feria tertia*, for Tuesday was the 21st; so also the *Annals of Winchcombe* mistake, which have it *feria sexta*; and the *Annals of St. David's*, for they say he died on the 29th." —1 *Angl. Sac.* 473.

There are a few other passages less remarkable in the same author, and hinging upon this, which perhaps it is not necessary to consider here. They are much the same as in the *Worcester* copy of the *Saxon Chronicle*: of which hereafter.

3dly and 4thly, *Of Simeon of Durham, and Diceto.*

These authors precisely copy Florence; as,

"1033. Leofsius Wicciorum Episcopus," &c.,  
 "in episcopali Villâ, Kemeseâ, 14 Kal. Septemb. obiit. Cujus corpus in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ Wigorniaë tumulatur honorifice. In

cujus sedem Brihteagus Abbas Perscorensis levatus est."

Diceto also relates, that Leofsius, abbot of Thorney, took this bishoprick in 1018, [i. e. five years before Archbishop Wulstan's death.] Wharton has not observed this.

5thly. *Of the Saxon Chronicle*, (*Worcester copy*, *Tiberius*, B. 4.)

The first article in which Ælfric (now bishop) appears, is

"MXXVI. Her for Ælfric b.\* to Rome, and on feng Pallium æt Ioanne Papan on ii id. Novemb." *Now went bishop Elfric to Rome, and got his pall, &c.*

"MXXXIII. Her forthferde Leofric b. and his lichama resteth on Wigra-ceastre and Brihteh was on his setl ahafen." *Now died bishop Leofsinus, and his body, &c. and Britegus was had in his see.*

"MXXXIV. Her was Ælfric b. forthfaren, and ligeth on Ramesige." *Now died bishop Elfric, and he lies at Ramsey.†*

\* Here I understand the word *Bishop*, emphaticé (i. e. bishop of Worcester).

† His name was even entered in the Ramsey Abbey calendar. (v. p. 25.)

Here is abundant matter for consideration.

The MS. *Tiberius*, B. 4, is not the original Worcester annals, (as it will be seen,) but a transcript of those *perverted*. This fact is easily proved.

For some purpose or other, to be inquired hereafter, Elfric was to be gotten rid of amongst the bishops of Worcester. It is worth while to notice the manner in which it was accomplished. First. The contrivers struck out the following record, which is still preserved in the later Peterborough annals,\* and in no other copy.

“ MXXIII. Forthferde Wulstan arceb. and feng Ælfric to.” *Archbishop Wulstan died, and Elfric succeeded.* Wulstan was then bishop, and resident amongst them. Surely they took some note of his death?

This obliteration was not of much use; for, apparently, the record of 1026 was overlooked.

In 1034, came bishop Britegus (the first bishop of Worcester *proper*, since before Oswald's reform;) and it was a question who was to pass for his predecessor in place of Elfric.

There was an abbot of Ely, of the name of

\* The annalist took it, I think, from some earlier and entire copy of the Worcester annals.

Leofsinus, in whose monastery archbishop Wulstan fell sick, died, and was buried in 1023.

And so Leofsinus, by the name of *Leofsinus*, abbot of *Thorney*, was to be registered bishop of Worcester.

Britegus succeeded, then, on the death of Leofsinus ; that is to say, on Elfric's resignation. Now it might happen to be known, from some accident or other,

That there never was a Leofsinus, abbot of *Thorney* ; and that Leofsinus, abbot of *Ely*, died *Leofsinus, abbot of Ely*, 26 Nov. 1044 :

Or,—that there *had been an Elfric, bishop of Worcester*.

Something further must be done ; and it seemed the only safe course to make a kind of confession. Hence the next story.

“ MXXXIV. Bishop Elfric departed this life, and was buried at Ramsey.”

But this candour was afterwards considered unnecessary, when a little further alteration would make it all right.

Two copies of the Worcester book being to be made for the monks of Abingdon and Peterborough, the record of 1034 was varied in the copying, thus :



“ MXXXIV. “ Her gefor Ætheric, \* b. and he lith on Ramesige.”

Of all these and other† corruptions, there seems but one really judicious, and that is in the year 1013, where the text running thus : (as I suppose :)

“ *And seo hlafdige wende tha ofer sæ to hire brothor Ricarde and se abb. of Burch mid hire :*”

The word *Ælsige* was cunningly inserted instead of *se*.‡

*Ælsige* § [Elsinus] *abbot of Burch*, is natural enough, and was never suspected.

\* The Abingdon MS. *Tiberius*, B. 1, records the deaths of four bishops in 1038, i. e. Ethelnoth A B., Ethelric bishop of Sussex, Elfric bishop of East Anglia, and Britegus bishop of Worcester. The Worcester book in this same year 1038, omits the Elfric, but agrees to the rest. Mr. Ingram, in whose book all the different copies are interwoven, is reduced to a blind choice between these Elfrics and Ethelrics, and 1034 and 1038.

† The following passage, in the Worcester MS. *alone*, seems a branch of the system of mystification :

“ Mxiv. Man hadode Ælwy bisceop on eoferwic to Lunden-burh on s̄ca Juliana mæsse-dæg.” i. e. 1014. *Elwius*, bishop of York, consecrated bishop of London on St. Juliana’s day. This would unseat archbishop Wulstan.

‡ This is the only instance wherein Elfric, in his annals, points directly at himself.

§ It is rather singular that this name also, *Ælsige*, Elsinus, was the name of the then abbot of Ely.

Nothing could be more *foolish*, say more *incredible*, than this forgery, if it were without motive or consequence; but, notwithstanding its seeming absurdity, (both in plan and execution) it was intended to serve, and did serve, a very base purpose.

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6thly. *Of Malmesbury.*

Malmesbury informs us, in his preface, that the principal matters contained in his *Life of Wulstan*, were derived from Coleman's book.

Coleman was a monk of Worcester, and wrote a life of Wulstan in English. "He was a man (says our author) of some learning and literary skill in his native tongue; and particularly worthy of credit, because he had known Wulstan long and intimately; had been first his disciple, and afterwards fifteen years his chaplain. The bishop made him prior of Westbury, where he died in 1113.

In the course of his work, Malmesbury occasionally adds, in support of any particular fact, "*this was communicated to Coleman by Hemming, the sub-prior,*" &c.

And Malmesbury had been personally acquainted with one Nicholas, [Nicholaus,] a favourite disciple of Wulstan's, from whom he had heard

many other particulars. Nicholas was prior of Worcester from 1113 to 1124, when he died.

So that Malmesbury's materials were apparently ample.

If we may suppose that Coleman's Life, unlike the rest of the Worcester papers, remained entire, the writer was one of the greatest hypocrites and impostors of that age. There is so much of falsehood and folly in Malmesbury, which is apparently *his*, that he probably *was* such a man—I know not what to think.

The particulars of Wulstan's early life, extracted from Malmesbury a little higher, are neither true, nor near to the truth; but in the two last books there are many stories much more shocking. Coleman is in general the instrument of miracles which Wulstan never pretended to, and Malmesbury was wrong to repeat.

Can Wulstan's reputation be enhanced by the following account? It is an exaggerated instance of Wulstan's courage only, and the most credible of all the miracles.

“In his journey to London, to the court, he came to inn at a town called Wycombe, in a ruinous old building, where the roof seemed very likely to fall. In the morning, when he began to think of setting out, a sudden crack shook the whole house, and at the same instant

the floors and timbers began to sink in and give way. The servants, terrified, every one of them ran out, regardless of their master within. But finding they had all escaped without mischief, they were clamorous enough, and prayed him earnestly, all in a voice, to come out with all speed, for the house was falling. Nobody, however, thought fit to risk his own safety by attempting to assist him.

“Wulstan, who was perfectly collected notwithstanding the danger, *rebuked them* for their vehemence and fears, *assured that no such accident would happen to him*; and he would not set foot out of the house, till he had seen the beasts laden with the baggage and ready to move; this done, he stepped out, and the place fell instantly with a horrid crash.”—*Book ii. cap. 8.*

The next chapter (9) begins thus :

“Here Coleman places a miracle exhibited in the same town some years afterwards, and of a higher degree,” &c. This is one of the most exceptionable and impious passages in the Life, and goes to make a saint of Coleman himself.

One instance will suffice of Coleman’s *vanity*, in the title of the 16th chap. 2nd book.

“*How Wulstan gave Coleman a title to preach,*

*after duly considering his purity of life, the gracefulness of his person, his profuse eloquence, and his literary skill.”\**

Nicholas, from Malmesbury’s description of him, certainly has a better claim to respect :

“ In connexion with Wulstan, his master, let me here insert a short memorial of Nicholas, his disciple. He was of a very good family, though English.† His parents had the greatest reverence for St. Wulstan, and secured his friendship at the price of many benefits. Wulstan baptized the boy himself, and took great pains with his education, and as he grew up went nowhere without him. At length he sent him to Canterbury, that he might have the advantage of studying for a time under Lanfranc. In the time of bishop Thiulf, Nicholas was made prior, and gave many instances of his industry in a very short time. But what I think most observable, was his care to create a love of literature in the inhabitants of the place. This he laboured to do both by his teaching and his own application, and he succeeded ; for although they yield to our principal churches in number, yet in point of study they do not. He

\* Magni pendens in eo munditiam vitæ, præstantiam personæ, profusam facundiam, literarum peritiam.

† Quantum ad Anglos.

took pleasure in recounting Wulstan's notable sayings and doings; but I blame him in this, that he did not write his life. No one could remember the particulars better, and no one had better means of information."—*Lib. iii. cap. 17.*

It is much in Nicholas' favour that Malmesbury inserts several anecdotes on his authority, in which Wulstan is seen to be charitable, sensible, and pious, as he really was; without any thing incredible or miraculous.\*

We have already mentioned, that, under the Norman princes, the priors of episcopal monasteries soon began to increase their authority, at the expense of the bishops. This was not the

\* Except perhaps the following, at the end of cap. 17 :

"Nicholas used to say that there was weight in Wulstan's most ordinary conversation; even in what fell from him by accident, of which this was an instance :

"Wulstan patted him in his kind manner on the head; for though quite young, he was already almost bald in front : '*Softly,*' said Nicholas, '*take care of my hair, for it is apt to come off.*' '*No,*' said the other, '*you will never be bald, depend upon it, as long as I live.*' And so it happened to a nicety; for in about a week after Wulstan's breath was out of his body, Nicholas lost what little hair he had left."

Malmesbury tells this story rather differently in his *Gesta Pont.*

case at Worcester in Wulstan's time, but probably began upon his death.

Prior Thomas was prior in 1088, in which he granted a charter to the monks, still extant, and witnessed by Coleman,\* then Wulstan's chancellor. Prior Thomas died 4th Oct. 1113. Nicholas succeeded, and died 24 June, 1124.

Nicholas began and ended his administration under the Bishop Theobald [Tiulf.] This bishop was not a monk, but one of the canons of Bayeux; and being King Henry's chaplain, he gave him this see at Windsor 28 Dec. 1113, whereto he was consecrated at Canterbury 27 June, 1115. He died on Sunday, 20 Oct. 1123, at his villa of Hampton.

The next prior after Nicholas was Guarinus, [Warin], by whom Malmesbury was employed to write this life.

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We are come now to an unpleasant part of our subject, in which a literary fraud is to be imputed, we hope to the *proper* author.

A material falsification of history is impossible in our day; and so odious, that amongst our best critics it is never thought of but as a last resource. By no possible combination of accidents, however, can the errors in the pre-

\* Coleman not yet prior of Westbury.

sent case have been produced ; and we have to deal with the very *nodus, vindice dignus*,—the extreme case,—in which a suspicion of fraud is justified.

It is neither confidently, however, nor willingly, that we charge Malmesbury with this offence ; and less as the perpetrator than as a minor participator,—an accessory after the fact. But *so far* appearances are against him (we will not say, clear proof). But our charges shall be fairly stated, and the reader left to judge.

His dedication of Wulstan's life is important.

“ William,” &c. “ To the Venerable Prior Warin, and all the Very Reverend Convent of Worcester. When you desired me some time ago to undertake the Life of our Father, S. Wulstan, I made some objection thereto ; for which objection there were many reasons : First, and principally, because I was aware of my own incompetency,” &c. &c.

“ But you yourselves are vouchers for the truth of what I write ; which is collected \* from

\* “—probabilium virorum inventa : adeo Antiquorum mentibus insederunt visa ; adeo Juniores amplectuntur audita. Posteris vero, quando gestorum memoria frigebit, poterit subesse dubitatio ; nisi testem idoneum pro-



the evidence of approved witnesses ; facts which the old have seen and well remember, or the young have heard.

“ But when the recollection of past events shall grow faint, posterity may possibly be inclined to doubt, unless I produce sufficient authority : wherefore, and because the actions of saints ought not to be rehearsed without the greatest precision, I will give an assurance of my account worth notice.

‘ It shall be Coleman, your monk ;—a man neither inexperienced in learning, nor a bad writer in his own tongue. For he wrote a life

duxero. Quocirea quia non nisi exacta fide deberent recitari gesta sanctorum Dabo vadem non improbabilem dictorum meorum. Is erit Colemannus, monachus vester, Vir, nec scientiâ imperitus, nec sermone patriô infacetus. *Scriptis, enim, anglicè*, ne gestorum avolaret memoria, *Vitam ejusdem patris* : si attendas ad sensum, lepore gravi ; si, ad literam, simplicitate rudi. *Dignus, cui fides non derogetur in aliquo* ; quippe qui noverit, intinè, mores magistri, ut discipulus, et religionem, ut quindecim annis Capellanus. Hujus, ego, ut voluistis, insistens scriptis, nihil turbavi de rerum ordine, nihil corrupti de gestorum veritate. Sane verbis, quæ vel dicta sunt, vel in tempore dici potuerunt, enarrandis supersedi ; consulens, in omnibus, veritati, ne videretur periclitari,” &c.

of the same Father in English, (lest what he had done might be forgot),—pleasing and of weight, if you look to the sense; but if you look to the language, careless and rough,” &c. &c.

“To his writings I have kept close, according to your directions; I have neither disturbed the order of *things*, nor corrupted the truth of *events*.

“In my narration, however, I have sometimes altered the language used, or which may have been used; but never to endanger the truth, which I have consulted throughout,” &c.

Malmesbury’s version of Wulstan’s *early* life has been already excepted to as improbable; and we may suppose, with much greater appearance of truth, that he was shaven for a monk from his infancy: a convent was thought the safest place for children in the troubles of Ethelred’s reign.

It is very possible that he went with Elfric from Peterborough to Worcester in his fifteenth year; he could hardly change his place earlier, i. e. before 1023, but it might happen later.

I think there can be no reason to prefer in credit such a writer as Coleman to Ingulfus;

and he expressly says that Wulstan was a monk of Peterborough.\*

A good deal of reliance may be placed upon this solitary testimony of Ingulfus, though Wharton remarks it as an error.

Ingulfus wrote some years earlier than did Coleman or Malmesbury; and was, in general, well read in the Peterborough history. He lived, also, sixty-five years of Wulstan's time, and fourteen afterwards; and must have known him personally, for they were almost the only two English churchmen who were welcome about the king.

But I think Coleman's falsehood is proved: let us therefore credit Ingulfus still further.

"1062. Sanctus Wulstanus, quondam monachus Burgi; postea prior Wigorniae; *deinde Abbas Glavorniae*;—Tandem Episcopus Wigorniae est effectus."—*Ingulfus*.

And though Wharton, relying upon Malmesbury, considers Ingulfus again misinformed, and that Wulstan never was abbot of Gloucester, I am persuaded that he was.

*There is no appearance of it* (let us say) *in Hemming's Life*: Hemming's Life is a mere

\* This account is also followed by abbot John.

fragment at best, and was of little account, as it seems, in his own monastery; for Malmesbury does not mention it amongst his authorities, nor does he recognize the existence of any writings of Hemming's.

Then, as to *Hemming's Book of Claims and Possessions*. This book also is decidedly adverse; and from one passage therein, *Ingulphus* seems mistaken as respects Wulstan, abbot of Gloucester:—

“*De Salawurpe*. Terra quæ dicitur Salawurpe ad jus monasterii pertinere certissimum est—Nam Godwinus quidam, frater Leofrici Comitis, ejusdem villulæ possessor, infirmitate tactus, cum ad extrema ductus esset a piæ memoriæ Wulstano tunc temporis monacho et Decano, postea vero Episcopo, et a venerabili Wulstano, qui postea abbas Gleocestriæ claruit, oleo unctus est; penitentia sibi injuncta, de terra illa ab ipsis calumniatus est,” &c.

The fact is, that this pretended Book of Possessions of Hemming's is a barefaced forgery for the greater part of it; and as late, I think, or later than Malmesbury's time, and probably got up for some purpose unconnected with Elfric. Its pervading spirit is malevolence towards Earl Leofric and his noble family, there-

in set forth as robbers of the church; and I should have thought it was written at the time of Edwin and Morcar's outlawry, but for the author's ignorance of events then recent, and for Malmesbury's silence.

Apparently this falsifier (whoever he was) knew that a Wulstan of Worcester was abbot of Gloucester in Edw. Confessor's time, but mistook him for another Wulstan. But in aid of Ingulfus, I beg to refer the reader to our Wulstan's, or the Worcester annals, evidently written at Gloucester from 1050 to 1053, and, according to all appearance, to 1058.\*

I think it can hardly be doubted that Coleman's Life of Wulstan was a monstrous collection of miracles only, without a word of his life before he was prior; and that Malmesbury, or some other, ignorant or false, invented all that precedes.

But who is *Warin*, who thus requires an elegant life of Wulstan by the most esteemed

\* Ingulfus expressly states, that he was made prior of Worcester in 1058. In that case he probably resigned the abbacy of Gloucester for an inferior degree in Worcester; though, in the passage above, Ingulfus relates his rise in the usual order.

pen of the age? and that, from given documents, to be closely adhered to.

This Frenchman is the head of a convent, grown, under the teaching of Nicholas, to be of some little note; Nicholas, it will be remembered, was *finished* in Lanfranc's school—a great reformer of English theology.

Amongst the other novelties introduced by the Normans, was a new system of divinity, of which Lanfranc was the principal originator here. To make room for its reception, such ancient doctrines as were now become peculiar to the English, that is, to *Elfric's*, system, were to be reformed.

It is impossible to say whether or not some of the English clergy might suffer for their supposed heterodoxy; but, certainly, the expelling every bishop, except Wulstan, and the principal abbots, happened very opportunely for the reformation. Not only were the more considerable churches and abbeys filled at once by Lanfranc's divines, but Canterbury was the school whence all vacancies continued to be supplied, at first or second hand, for many years afterwards. We hear of no persecution for conscience sake; and this reform was, apparently,

effected as a violence, merely civil, in the king's name. The means, however, were not the less effectual in this disguise.

As for the inferior monks and clergy, they were dying, one after another, in obscurity; and Lanfranc, in truth caring little for their antiquated notions, was content to leave them to time.

But it seems that these inveterate errors languished something longer than was expected: Elfric's writings are said to be clearly adverse to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and whilst his treatises remained, the old system threatened to make head. Authority at one time attempted to put down the use of English altogether. This would have answered the purpose: the people, however, were too strong for their rulers; and, in the end, the proscribed tongue grew to be fashionable.

The patriotic writings of the monks of Ely, and others, warrant our belief that Elfric's divinity continued to be respected in Malmesbury's time and long after: all he is known to have written survives.

The reader must judge whether or not this extraordinary performance of Malmesbury's had any connexion with the Worcester forgeries be-

fore-mentioned : they all seem to aim at one object—to mystify, to lose, to ruin Elfric. His name and credit had been assailed before, and something of this kind attempted ; but, I think, with indifferent success. This stroke of Malmesbury's was probably intended to finish the work.

What could he mean? Was Elfric—abbot—bishop—archbishop—principal minister of Ethelred and Canutus, so utterly forgotten eighty years after his death, that Malmesbury was *bonâ fide* in doubt about him. *He was abbot of Malmesbury, forsooth, in Edgar's time; and, if we may believe lying tradition, left some writings of value behind him!* Was it honest in this writer, having compared the two lives of Ethelwold, Elfric's, and Wulstan's, to cite Wulstan's in his own works? plainly an impudent piracy of a beautiful performance.

It would be unjust towards Florence, (with such reason for suspicion here,) to doubt that his writings, like those of Ingulfus, were perverted after his death. We must have further evidence against Florence, before his name is connected with Malmesbury's on this subject.

A perusal of the original MS. Tiberius, A. 13, will convince the most charitable that Hem-



ming's writings were corrupted after his death, and about Malmesbury's time.

As for Coleman, if we are to suppose that his *genuine* life was laid before Malmesbury, what could induce Wulstan to choose such a chaplain? or to prefer him afterwards to a priory? There is a lurking meaning, not easily described, in Malmesbury's epistle to Warin.

Coleman died on the same day as prior Thomas, Sunday, 4th Oct. 1113; Florence, on the 7th July, 1118.

But Elfric's writings were dispersed in Malmesbury's day. Nothing, however, was to be collected from them, for he never referred to them himself. It is true, they began in the ordinary form: *Elfric, monk, Elfric, abbot*; or *Elfric, bishop*. Malmesbury well knew this, and therefore his abbot Elfric of Malmesbury dies bishop of Crediton.

But the Annals are to be excepted; we know, and *he* knew, that they were to be seen in three monasteries or more—Abbingdon, Canterbury, and Peterborough. Some copies ran *sub anno* 1013, *abbot of Burch* only, and some had the *name* of the abbot. Will it be believed that these copies were corrupted by emissaries from Canterbury or from Worcester?

As Elfric had been abbot of Peterborough, an adroit agent was to be employed, who should examine the records minutely, and see that the work was not done by halves. Whether Malmesbury himself undertook such a mission is more than can be said; but certainly he was *there* for some nameless purpose, and so offensively inquisitive, that he got himself affronted. He would have us believe that they would not satisfy him respecting the relics;\* and it may be a part of the truth.

It is not likely that the abbot Elfric was wholly forgotten in this church till long after the Conquest. Athelwold, who must have been of some standing in 1070, (for he was *then* prior) lived prior till about 1115-20: and I think it was after his death that the Peterborough re-

\* Ornat sodalitatem Virginum, (ut prædicant,) Rex Sanctus Oswaldus; cujus ibi brachium haberi dicunt, nervis, cute, carne, integrum; ab antiquâ requietionis sede *furtim* ablatum: daturque Ostensui scrinium magnum, illius thesauri receptaculum. Sed fides dictorum vacillat ubi nihil auditor visu explorat. Hoc vero non dixerim quòd de integritate Sanctissimi dubius; sed utrùm eo loci contineatur nolo esse affirmator præproperus.—*De Gest Pont, lib. 4.*

It was produced, however, to King Stephen, about the same time, who offered his ring.

cords were falsified. They were re-transcribed\* [see Mr. Ingram's preface] sometime between 1122 and 1132; or, if not, shortly after the latter year. This transcript is now known by the name of the *Laud Saxon Chronicle*. Surely before this transcription some leaves, including abbots Elfric's and Kinsinus's acts, must have been cut out, and Elfric's name altered to Elsinus.

I may instance one prominent passage in the *Laud*, to justify this view of the subject :

"MXLI. And on this ilcan time forthferde Ælf. . . . abb. of Burch."†

This little hiatus shows the folly of falsehood. In the first part of the later Peterborough Annals, the time of abbot Arwinus' accession is wanting, (though I doubt not it was in the book when entire;) and he appears but once, anno 1052, where it is said that he then,

\* What we here call a re-transcription was something more; various interpolations were made in different places, and the book was enlarged by extracts from Plegmund's, the Abbingdon, the Canterbury, and the Worcester Chronicles: indeed, it was now, properly, a compilation.

† Josseling in his excerpts from the lost Peterborough copy into Tiberius, b. 4. has it Ælfsi. Probably it is so there.

though in good health, resigned the abbotcy in favour of the monk Leofric.

Arwinus was to pass for Elsinus' (i. e. Elfric's) successor; and, without further thought, the year 1041 is assigned for Elsinus' death, that is, for Arwinus' succession.

Under the date 963, after mention of Ethelwold, the MS. *Land* contains a short history of his restoration of Peterborough, and of the several abbots until Elsinus' death, wherein is the following passage :

“Kenulf wæs thær abbot swa lange thæt man sette him to biscop on Wintanceastre: Tha cæs [chose] man other abbot of the silve Minstre\* the wæs gehaten Ælfsi. Se Ælfsi wæs *tha* abbot fiftig wintre,” &c.

Kenulfus was made bishop of Winchester in 1005—50=1055.

How is this reconcilable with the record unwittingly suffered to stand under the year 1052: *Arwinus*, Elsinus' successor, *resigned*?

And still less with that obviously corrupted passage of 1041 :

“M<sup>XL</sup>I. Died Ælf. . . . abbot of Burch :” instead of

\* Here *I* understand *Winchester*—*Hugo* understood *Peterborough*.

MLI. Died Ælfric, formerly abbot of Burch.  
And without a doubt 1051 was the year of  
Arwinus' election; when Kinsinus vacated Peterborough for York.

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Having mentioned the principal reasons which lead me to reflect upon Malmesbury, I may suppose my reader's conclusion to be of this kind:

Upon the question—Was Malmesbury fully aware that he was writing his *Life of Wulstan* from documents forged or falsified?—Yes.

Did he, for gain, or for other considerations, acquiesce therein?—Yes.

Was he thoroughly disposed to stifle Ælfric's reputation? and to disown and deny him whenever he fell in his way?—The answer must be, *yes*.

But was he the principal author of these falsifications? the actual instrument?—Not proved—not guilty.

Then I think we must go still higher, though we should trench upon a greater name than his.

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When Ælfric had sitten in Worcester ten years, i. e. from 1023 to 1033 or 4, we have seen that Britegus was made bishop of Worcester in

his place, and that Britegus was Wulstan's nephew, Elfric's friend and predecessor.

I think the *reason* of Elfric's cession, and the *understanding* at the time, may be divined, if a little consideration be given to what follows.

Of the Wulstan last mentioned, all that is certainly known is of unmixed good. In Hickes' estimation he is second only to Elfric amongst our old English writers; and several of his writings are preserved. He is sometimes called Wulstanus Lupus.

His high character, and the simple and intelligible features of his divinity, were, apparently, the cause of Malmesbury's slander. This last-named writer, with whose views and habits the reader is acquainted, has drawn an invidious comparison between Wulstan and his predecessor Adulfus, and that from no other motive, as it seems, than pure malevolence. There is no shadow of justice in his reproach.

"Adulfus, ex-abbot of Burch, succeeded Oswald in both sees, York and Worcester. He was a holy and reverend man (as we are told); and for his sanctity was permitted to hold two sees, though against the rules of the canons; and indeed he held them both, not out of ambition, but from necessity. Not so Wulstan, who

was a very different man, both inwardly and outwardly.”\*

The fact is, Adulfus left no writings.

But Wulstan died; and we have seen how Elfric was gotten rid of, his successor in the two sees. Britegus held Worcester but four or five years, and died in 1038; when Living, already bishop of two other churches in the west of England, obtained Worcester for a third. From which, however, he was displaced on the accession of Hardecnute, and Worcester restored to Elfric.

Earl Godwin, deeply involved with Living, seems to have made his return to Worcester one of the conditions of Edward's taking the crown. That event happened in 1042; and

\* Adulfus, sanctus (ut perhibent) vir et reverendus. Ipsi, pro sanctitate, ignoscitur, &c. Quodd (ss) non hoc ambitione, sed necessitate fecerit. Wulstano non ita, qui sanctitate discrepebat et habitu. De Gest. pont. 3.

Mabillon (sæc. 7. 728.) observes, that our protestant bishop, Godwin, is angry with Malmesbury on this occasion; and the benedictine vindicates the benedictine of course. See how he turns it:

“Indignatur Godwinus sectæ Anglicanæ quod Adulfum, duarum Ecclesiarum Episcopum, probet Willielmus; Contrà; id, Wulstano pro scelere imputet. At legitimam causam hujus discriminis affert,” &c.

Elfric, seventy-seven years of age, was apparently obliged to acquiesce. Indeed Godwin's power was without limit. But on the death of this last-named bishop, which happened in 1047, though Worcester did not in fact return to our venerable Elfric, the next bishop, Aldred, was probably of his nomination; for we find he also was an ex-monk of Winchester. The king, some time afterwards, gave Aldred the intermediate bishoprick of Hereford, and in 1060 the archbishoprick of York; intending that he should hold both the churches of Worcester and York. Hereford he resigned.

These facts being premised, we may now return to Malmesbury's Life of Wulstan; out of which it has been mentioned, that the pope objected to Aldred's holding the two sees. Other writers say, that Earl Tosti threatened the pope to his face; but I believe there is very little truth in the whole story, and that Aldred had no objection to resign Worcester, that church being continued in his province.

Malmesbury, in continuation, states that Aldred, whilst bishop, severed many villages\* from

\* They are particularly mentioned in Hemmings' Claims,



the church of Worcester; and that, careless of Wulstan's meek remonstrances, he enjoyed them, with York, to the day of his death. We are told that Wulstan, in the mean time, dissembled his discontent, and waited patiently for restitution. At length it came with the Conquest.

"King William never injured Wulstan, but honoured him much: he was accustomed to call him father, and respected him as a son. Wulstan, therefore, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity, recovered to their original destination many possessions of which the church of Worcester had been stripped, either by the encroachments of the Danes, long before, or, more recently, by the power of archbishop Aldred. So much the king deigned to favour him. Such was the justice," &c.

"Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, succeeded Aldred in York. He was remarkable for his skill in books, of good note also for worldly prudence, and his manners were not of the worst. He was also allowed to be the best musician of his time." Malmesbury then goes on to say that Wulstan had to contend with this archbishop for the restitution of such lands

as Aldred had annexed to the church of York, and that Thomas was unwilling to give up what he found himself in possession of.

Resenting this unexpected attack he not only refused all satisfaction, but prepared to attack Wulstan in his turn, claiming his obedience as a subject-bishop.

“ Either (says William) because he was a stranger in England, or that he listened to whisperers, he was persuaded that the dominion\* of the church of Worcester belonged to him as archbishop of York; and accordingly he made claim thereto, as his right and succession under his predecessors.

“ The cause made a great noise, first in England, and afterwards at Rome: *Lanfranc was present when the matter was heard before the pope.*

“ Lanfranc was much offended with this suit. *He saw that the prerogatives of his church were endangered if he kept silence; he gave testimony, therefore, and such as justice required, rather than resentment.* Whereupon, Alexander, loth

\* Seu quòd novus Anglus esset, seu aliquorum susurro persuasus Wigorniensem Ecclesiam sui juris esse; clamabat Dominatum illius legitimâ successione sibi competere; antecessorum suorum fuisse.

to displease Lanfranc, his old master, and as little inclined to condemn Thomas, got rid of the invidious duty, and remitted the cause to an English council.\*

“The cause thus referred by the pope, was accordingly opened again; in which all the nobility of England took one side or other. Thomas was patronized by Odo, the bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, a man of immense riches, and the king’s half-brother. Odo was followed by all the members of the council; corrupted some by bribes, and the rest by flattery; *Lanfranc alone stood up for justice*; for even the king inclined in favour of his brother, although he was not destitute of respect for Lanfranc. Well; the parties are met; the complaint is stated; and Thomas and his friends leave the court in order to prepare an answer. After a time, Wulstan having retired to rest himself, Thomas returns into the king’s presence, and ingeniously and eloquently answers the charge. Wulstan, his slumbers having been broken by his friends, is now buried in devo-

\* Wulstan had brought forward his claim, in the first instance, at the council of Winchester, in 1070, but the see of York being then vacant, it was not thought decent to push for sentence.—*Wharton*.

tion, [psalmos, ore ; preces, corde, ingeminat] : they press him to leave his closet, and attend to the necessary support of his cause ; instead of which, he, with such of his monks as he had brought with him, begin the service of *Nones*, and complete the whole chant. His friends now insisting that he must think of other things than psalms, at last he turned and reminded them of that passage in the Scriptures, ‘ *When ye stand before kings and princes,*’ &c. ; then taking up a book containing the lives of the blessed Dunstan and Oswald, former bishops of Worcester, he assured them that those fathers themselves were personally present to his sight, and assisting to befriend him ; and so saying, he went into the court, and gained his cause without difficulty.

“ The king asked him what he had to say for himself [Quid in suo invenisset consilio] ? to which he answered, ‘ I have no other advocate than you [Consilium meum in vobis est.] This said, the king immediately turned to Lanfranc, and proposed this decree: *Let the bishop of Worcester be subject to the archbishop of Canterbury, and be free of York.*’\* ”

\* These were the arts by which William fomented divisions amongst his subjects ; always aiding the weaker party. I have rather softened this extravagant passage than

“He also granted to the church of Worcester the twelve villages which Aldred, on his death-bed, had assigned to his use. Though, indeed, out of his royal liberality, he made archbishop Thomas a compensation in other lands.

otherwise (as may be easily seen); but in place of the original, I have here given another account of the same business, taken from our author's *Gesta pont.* (4 book.)

“He was impeaded before the elder William in two causes at the same time: by Lanfranc, for his want of learning; and by Thomas, Abp. of York, as his subject bishop by ancient right, &c.

“Sub seniore Willielmo inclamatum est in eum, a Lanfranco, de literarum inscientia: a Thomâ archiepiscopo Eboracensi, quod ei subijci deberet ex antiquo jure: Utrisque objectionibus cùm in concilio respondere juberetur, egressus, ut strictiore concilio responsum conderet monachorum qui cum eo duxerat animis ad summum negotium attonitis ille subintulit, *Crede mihi! ad-huc non cantavimus nonam: Cantemus, quidem.* Sociis referentibus ut, priùs, propter quod venerant, expedirent; quòd satis, superque sufficeret cantibus, tempus; Regem et proceres si hæc audierint risui se haberi non immerito credituros. ‘Priùs, crede mihi, faciemus, inquit Dei servitium; et pòst, agitabimus hominum litigium.’ Horâque cantatâ, nullâ excogitatâ falsi tergiversatione, nullo cõempto veri splendore, confestim aulam concilii pergebat ingredi; suis eum retinere temperantibus persuadere non potuit, &c.

“Coleman cites Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, as a witness of this little history: a man, in his time, next in virtue to Lanfranc, yet far behind him. I myself have heard Walkelin recounting (more than once) how Wulstan contended almost single-handed with so many great men, (and men of great talent too,) and came off the winner.”

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Here then is a reason for the literary assassination of Elfric: and I think it cannot be doubted that the Worcester Annals were falsified on this occasion.

The perversion of *all our English history* was intended, I think, to prevent future litigation, and may have been effected in Malmesbury's time, as is suggested above.

“Ita, data benedictione monacho minimæ facundiæ viro, normannicæ linguæ sciolo, rem obtinuit; ut qui suæ diocesis ante putabatur indignus regimine, ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi suppliciter rogaretur ut suam dignaretur lustrare; quod ipse, pro timore hostium vel sermonis ignorantîæ cavebat accedere. Nec solùm hoc: sed et villas reliquas Episcopatûs quas Aldredus archiepiscopatus retinuerat, recuperavit ad unam. Cui, *Lanfrancus archiepiscopus* constanter assisteret causæ; urgens, videlicet, *Emulum primatûs, et potentîæ.*

It is very clear that in this piece Wulstan played for Lanfranc; and before we condemn him for the part he was so evidently constrained to take, it is right to consider the difficulties of his situation. Lanfranc was determined to draw Worcester into his province—and how to resist?

Wulstan's friends, the bishops Agelwinus, then an outlaw with Hereward in the marshes, and Egelric, pining in chains at Abingdon, were as free from crime as himself; and the least opposition to William or his ministers, would reduce him to some such state.

This author is not to be believed when he tells us, that Wulstan was *honoured* by the king, who *never injured him*, &c., but perhaps he protected him *against Lanfranc*.

Lanfranc was not only *not to be offended*, he was to be *softened and propitiated*. Malmesbury admits, as we see, that he threatened Wulstan with the loss of his bishoprick for want of learning, (a temptation seemingly inadequate to the effect;)—other arguments were used without a doubt: his constancy was shaken; and he had his reward—what was it?

To sit thirty years alone; the last of English bishops! Conspicuous for weakness in his own

eyes and those of his nation. Permitted by Lanfranc to remain, that another election might not open the door to another appeal; and bound whilst he lived, to make good the evidence he had once produced.

Thus Wulstan, notwithstanding Malmesbury's assertions, felt bitterly the evils of the Conquest; and yet he was naturally honest and upright. We know of *Lanfranc's* importunities on the one hand, and suspect *his own monks'* on the other. We know also, to his honour, that he long resisted, and our censure should fall the lighter for it.

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It has been mentioned, that Nicholas was sent in his youth to Lanfranc to complete his education. This, I suppose, was about the time of the appeal. There was then an officer of the church of Canterbury, of the name of Osberne, who held a high place in Lanfranc's favour. He was brought up in the church from his infancy, and when Lanfranc came to be archbishop, he was precentor. His principal recommendations were an excellent Latin style, and an unbounded stock of hypocrisy.

This man was a great promoter of the new



doctrines, and ready to assert any thing which would serve his purpose.\* The following passage is from his Life of St. Dunstan :

“ This also, which is known to us on the report of a certain venerable old man of approved faith, is worthy of admiration :

“ He says that our father and master, Dunstan, appeared to a certain cripple in his sleep, and commanded him to come for recovery to his own resting place. That the lame man accordingly came, and for many days prayed his assistance, but received no kind of benefit : and at length, wearied or desperate, he determined to desist, and set out to return by the way he came. He had proceeded about half way, when he met the apparition of the night ; his looks were severe \* \* \* : he asked him where he had been ? and where he was going ? I have been (said the lame man) to the man of God, St. Dunstan, as I was bidden, and hoping to recover the use of my limbs ; but I have profited nothing ; and I thought of going back to my own home.’ ‘ I am Dunstan, (said the apparition) \* \* \* \* I have been busy about

\* In his Life of Archbishop Odo, he pretends that the denial of the real presence was a heresy introduced in Odo's time, and held by a few only.

several necessary matters, and have not been able for some days to go to my resting-place, to show myself to my children there; for *Elfric Bata* has been endeavouring to dispossess God's church; but I have the care of it, and he could do nothing," &c. &c.—*Mabillon, Act. Benedictin. Sæc. 5, 692.*



## HUGO CANDIDUS : AND HIS HISTORY OF PETERBOROUGH.

WITH the exception of Plegmund, (and I am not acquainted with any evidence respecting *him*,) I believe every one of the supposed Saxon annalists has been mistaken.

Dr. Hickes has suggested that Hugo Candidus may have written the Later Peterborough Annals ; his opinion, however, has been slighted by some who know little of Hugo, and who give no reason for their opposition. Others may have arrived at the same conclusion after due consideration ; but Hickes' mistake is extremely natural : for Hugo seems to be more directly pointed at by several circumstances than any other writer of any other of the chronicles. He lived in the same monastery, and wrote at the same time ; both his history and the chronicle, end in the abbotcy of William of WALTERVILLE. His Latin gives, in general, the precise sense of the Saxon ; and, what is much to the purpose, his

censure and praise of the several abbots, where it differs a little in form, is an echo of the same spirit. To these reasons we may add, that Hugo, who was sincerity itself, and apparently takes nothing without acknowledgment, no where refers to any living writer to whom he was indebted.

Judging from *these*, and overlooking *adverse* appearances, (which are less obvious,) I quite thought the Later Peterborough Annals were written by Hugo. This was before I was acquainted with Dr. Hickes' sentiments on the subject.

But in the course of this undertaking, I have necessarily examined appearances a little closer, and now think that the Later Peterborough Annals (i. e. not *Elfric's*) are the work of three hands: the elder, Athelwold's, elected prior of the abbey in 1066. His contributed little; and about the time of his death it was taken up by a *second*, and continued from 1122 to 1132, From 1132 it was written by a *third*, who finished it.

The question is, whether either the *second* or *third* was Hugo, or not?

Besides *the continuation of the annals* from 1122 to 1132, four voluminous passages are

also assignable to the second of these three interpolated in the years 655, 656, 675, and 963; and which contain notices of this abbey not comprised in any former chronicle, and fill about fifteen of Mr. Ingram's pages.—And, thirdly, the *compilation of the Codex LAUD*; wherein are collected the Saxon annals of Canterbury, Worcester, and Abingdon. These he has interwoven with the Peterborough Annals, (namely, Elfric's, Athelwold's, and his own.) His plan in this compilation was to go through each chronicle year by year, that no original matter might escape; reducing the dates to the reckoning of this abbey, where the year began on the 25th March.

A few instances might be pointed out where *material facts are rejected*: the *language* is also *frequently varied*. The reader may not be displeased with an instance of his taste in modernizing Wulstan's style, who wrote forty years before him.

I have taken some pains to discover whether this writer might not be Hugo; and the result will be found below. But first let us return to Athelwold.

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Athelwold was elected prior in place of Brand, who, upon the abbot Leofric's death, 1 Nov. 1066, was made abbot.

We have inferred that Elfric and Wulstan were the authors of the *earlier* Peterborough and the Worcester Annals, for this reason, amongst others; that all mention of themselves is carefully avoided where it was naturally to be looked for. It seems that this kind of self-denial was a rule amongst our very early benedictines, because we are driven to the same argument again in evidence of Athelwold's authorship.

In the annals we believe to be *his*, there is no mention of his forced journey to Ely after Hereward's assault upon the abbey. *This* will appear by a comparison of the following account from Hugo, with the account of the same transaction in the chronicle sub anno 1070.

“ Abbot Brand died 30 Nov. 1069; and from the time of his death the abbey was visited with all kinds of misfortunes. The Danes returned into England, that is to say, king Swain, the son of king Canutus, with a very strong army; and the English thought that he would win the kingdom. Two of their great men, namely, Osborn, an earl, and Christian, a bishop, came, with many of their people, into the Isle of Ely; and being

joined by Hereward and his men, did a great deal of mischief. Hereward invited and encouraged them to come to Peterborough, and seize whatever gold and silver and other valuables there were; and because he had heard that his uncle, the abbot Brand, was dead, and that the king had given the abbey to a certain Norman monk named Thorold, and that this Thorold was an extremely proud, austere man, and was already at Stamford with a body of horsemen, he and his confederates determined to strip the place before he came. But the monks getting scent of their intentions, the sacrist, whose name was Iwarus, immediately took as many as he could carry of the gospels, and cloaks, hoods, and surplices, and other light articles, and went to the new abbot at Stamford, and gave him notice that Hereward and the Danes were coming to rob the church. The malefactors came, however, as soon as it was light, with many vessels (*navibus*). The monks and their servants shut the gates, and began to defend themselves like men; and particularly at Bell-Dyke-Gate, (*ad portum Bolhithe*,) where there was a very sharp encounter. And Hereward and his associates, seeing they could no otherwise get in, set fire to the houses nearest the gate, and



so made a way through the flames. They burned also all the monks' offices, and all the village except the church and one house. When matters were come to this, the monks went out and besought them not to do this mischief; but they would hear nothing, and went into the church all in their harness. They would have carried away the great cross; but took only the golden crown, embellished with gems, from the head of the crucifix, and the stool from under his feet; which stool was also of fine gold and gems. They took two golden biers, and nine others of silver, adorned with gold and gems; and twelve crosses, some of gold, and the others of silver, gilded and gemmed. But not satisfied with these relics, they got up into the turret, and found there the great table belonging to the altar, which the monks had hid. This table was all gold and silver and precious stones. They took so much gold and silver, in utensils and ornaments, and so many books, that it is impossible to say what the value altogether was: they were all of the best, and there were none such left in all England. And yet they pretended to do this to serve the church. Better the Danes kept them a time, they said, for the use of the church, than the French. Hereward

himself was a favourite with the monks, (*homo monachorum*,) and for that reason they were rather inclined to believe them : and, indeed, he always used to say, that what he had done he did with a good intention ; for he thought the Danes were too strong for king William, and would certainly win the land.

“As it happened, there was nothing saved but what was carried to the abbot ; for what Hereward and his men seized, and the Danes, was totally lost. They, having laden their ships with whatever was portable, sailed away with all speed, fearing the Normans might surprise them ; and when they came to Ely, Hereward left every thing in their care. They also took with them Athelwold, the prior, and the monk Agelsinus, and some others of the elder monks. All the rest of the monks were dispersed hither and thither, like sheep without a shepherd ; one only was left, named Leofwine Lange, who was in the infirmary, sick.

“The same day the abbot came to Peterborough with one hundred and sixty Normans well armed, and found every place consumed, with its furniture, except only the church. This happened on the 2nd of June.

“The prior Athelwold and the other seniors

were carried with the treasures to Ely, where the Danes quartered. And because the prior was a prudent and sensible man, they promised, if he would go with them into their country, they would make him a bishop. He pretended to be pleased with this promise; whereupon they made him keeper of all their stores.

[Here an account of his providing himself with certain tools, which he secreted for the present.]

“One day the Danes had a great dinner, a kind of rejoicing for the treasure so easily obtained. They being very jovial, (eating and drinking all day,) the prior took his chisels, and opened a chest, containing, besides much gold and silver, king Oswald the martyr’s arm. But first he placed two of his faithful servants to watch; one in the house where they were drinking, and the other mid-way, in order to guard against surprise. The money he returned to its place, but reverently hid the arm in the straw of his bed, for he had not time to do more.

“But for God’s mercy, and the saint, he would have been caught. The Danes had actually risen to go to vespers when he went amongst them, for he had first to wash his face

with cold water, being heated and red with the labour. He happily escaped without any question as to where he had been, or what he had been about.

“ On the following day, Athelwold sent his servants to Peterborough, having first obtained a passport from Hereward, whose friends were cruising in different parts of the meres ; but their principal orders were to take the relics to Ramsey, and lodge them there in safety.

“ In the meantime, a compact was made between the two kings, William and Swain ; whereby Swain agreed to leave the kingdom with his plunder. Accordingly, the Danes embarked with the treasure above-mentioned, and returned into Denmark.

“ After their departure, the prior returned from Ely to his church with the other monks, and there found the abbot Thorold. The monks also returned who before were dispersed ; and divine service, which had been seven days intermitted, was celebrated as usual.”

This is an abridgment of Hugo's account, and may contain some little exaggeration ; but we only wish to show that Athelwold was carried to Ely, which I think can hardly be disputed. We have no further particulars of him

until Hugo mentions him again in a passage which will come shortly under notice.

Athelwold lived, however, (as I collect) until about the year 1116.

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We have had occasion to make particular mention of *Nicholas* in our notice of Malmesbury's Life of Wulstan. He is the last of our annalists worthy of unlimited credit. Elfric, Wulstan, and himself, write as if upon oath; not so the next. Lovers of truth will excuse some coldness of style in a work of this kind, composed with modesty and care.

I am sorry to say, that the finishers of the Saxon Chronicle wanted *both*, and were better qualified to write fairy tales than history.

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A particular notice of Hugo will better enable us to judge whether *he* or *another* compiled the MS. *Laud*, in the manner above-mentioned.

*Walter of Whittlesea, a monk and historian of this church, informs us that there was "one Hugo, a monk, who was called ALBUS, from his pale complexion, (he being subject to bleed,) and that he wrote a history of this abbey, and was of great note in the time of abbot Ernulfus, and the succeeding abbots, John, Henry, Martin, and William."*

But a more precise account of him may be gathered from his own book ; as also of the time when his acquaintance with the abbey began and ended.

Dr. Patrick thus translates his description of himself :

"In his childhood he fell into a disease which made him very weak. For every year, and that often, he vomited abundance of blood ; and once was brought so low, by vomiting fifteen basins full in one week, that they utterly despaired of his life, gave him extreme unction, and were called out of the chapter-house by Nicolaus, then keeper of the infirmary, to come and commend his soul to God, he being upon the point of departure. But Egelbrithus, a most holy man, persuading them to go into the church and beg his life of God (who would not deny them one man, as his words were) ; they did so,

and he was miraculously restored, as is there at large related." Patrick then proceeds to say, that "he lived a long time, beloved by all the succeeding abbots, *John, Henry, Martin, William*; under whom he served the church, having all the business of the monastery, both within doors and without, committed to him; till he came at last to the degree of sub-prior; first under *Martin*, then under *William de Walterville*, in whose time he died.

"I have given the larger account of this man, because he is mentioned in many authors as an excellent person; being known (as our history adds) in the neighbouring monasteries; nay, famed far and near; and no less loved than praised by all that were acquainted with him. He had the name of *Candidus*, or *Abbas*, in all likelihood from his pale complexion," &c.

Hugo is not less communicative respecting one *Remaldus*, who was his elder brother, and made him a monk when a child; and whom he always attended and served.

"The abbot, *Ernulfus*, appointed twenty pounds, out of a gift of fifty pounds, to be laid out by the sacrists, *Wictricus* and *Remaldus*, in palls and copes. These sacrists were two able men, who for thirty years together served the

monastery faithfully. *Wictricus*, the elder, growing infirm, resigned his place; but the *other* continued in office till his death, for they would not suffer *him* to retire.

“*Remaldus* was called *Spiritualis*, because he was a very little man, and ministered with much affection to the elder sacrist.

“He was thought to have the spirit of prophecy, being able to tell beforehand when any of the monks would die, and having had other things to come shown him by visions, which they took to be from God. Particularly one night, he thought he was in Saint Andrew’s porch, (*whilst the old monastery was standing,*) and that two dignified persons entered and seated themselves. They wore *albs* and *chesibles*, and were decorated also with *mitres* and bishops’ *palls*; and having named themselves *Kinsinus* and *Elfricus*, they bade him call thither several of the seniors of the church, *Athelwold the prior*, and then divers others, all honourable persons, (*whom I myself have seen,\**) who being come before them, they bade *Remaldus* go out,

\* Dr. Patrick, misunderstanding a passage in Hugo, describes him, in page 269, as in the abbey in 1103, under abbot Matthias. But it is plain that neither Hugo



for as yet it was not *his* time. And all those who were thus called died one after the other, in the same order wherein he had seen them come in."—*Pat.* 270.

Ernulfus, according to Malmesbury, was a Frenchman, born in 1040, and originally a monk of Beauvais; where, misliking the administration of his abbey, he desired to leave it, and wrote to Lanfranc (with whom he had studied at Bec) for his advice: Lanfranc wished him to come to Canterbury, which he did; and where he was a monk during all Lanfranc's time; after whose death archbishop Anselm made him prior.

Whilst he was prior of Christ Church, Anselm wrote him letters, (to be seen in *Fox*,) in which the question of the marriage of priests is discussed. And Ernulfus himself was a writer on similar subjects. He was made abbot of Peterborough in 1107, and sat until 1114; when he was promoted to the see of Rochester. He is said to be the author of the *Textus Roffensis*.

Hugo is very eloquent in praise of this abbot; his buildings, his liberality, and the happiness nor Remaldus were introduced earlier than Ernulfus' time.

of the monks under his rule. And Malmesbury, after commending him for the conscientious discharge of all his duties, in *every station*, thus sums up his good works at *Peterborough*: *Monachorum numerus auctus; religio bonis moribus confota; ædium veterum ruderibus deturbatis nova fundamenta jacta; culmina erecta; eaque omnia, cum vorax ignis absumpsisset meditati reficere, honos pontificalis impacta.* "The number of the monks increased, religion and decency advanced, rubbish and decay demolished, and the foundations laid of new buildings," &c.

*This is to our purpose*: Remaldus must have been one of the monks thus added to the former number; and, from his name, he was clearly *French* as well as Ernulfus.

I do not know that Hugo overrates Remaldus' importance. He was a busy, useful man, without a doubt; and, apparently, Withric, the elder sacrist, was supplanted by the clever little Frenchman.

The Prior Athelwold continued these annals for a short time only; and died about 1108—1112. He was succeeded by *Thuric*, (*sacrist* in abbot *Godric's* time); *Thuric*, by *Richard*, (made abbot of *Whitby* in 1147); and *Richard*, by *Remaldus*: and thereupon *Hugo* succeeded

Remaldus as *sub-prior*. I am greatly mistaken, if this very *Remaldus* was not the *corrupter*, *transcriber*, and *continuator* of the *Peterborough Records*. This is almost the last point we have to investigate.

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In an abbey like this, where they had a register of considerable age, it was, probably, an appointed duty to continue it. In fact, *it was continued* from Elfric's time downwards; and it is plain that the office of historian was then of great account, since we find it exercised by Wulstan, Elfric's scholar; *first*, when he was Abbot of Gloucester, and *afterwards* when Bishop of Worcester.

From the time of Abbot Brand, who died in November, 1069, few of the Abbots of Peterborough were able to write English, and they were not often resident; in consequence, their pastoral duties (and this was apparently *one*) fell upon the priors and sacrists (*secretarii*). We have shown that *Remaldus* was *sacrist* for thirty years, from 1108 or 1110.

And this hasty conclusion is free from all difficulties (which hasty conclusions seldom are); but there are other *roads*, and our opinion respecting *Remaldus* may be easily justified.

Dr. Gibson, Mr. Ingram, and other writers on the subject, have remarked, that towards the end the characters and language of the Saxon annals assimilate and melt into modern English. Their inference from this remark, however, is not precisely just. We are *by no means* to understand that our mother tongue was naturally unsteady; or after the Conquest was so readily sacrificed.

I will undertake to say, that there is less difference between *Elfric's* orthography and stile and *Wulstan's*, than between *an English writer's* of Queen Anne's time and *another's* fifty years earlier. And so again of Nicholas; there is no material difference between the stile and spelling of *his* last year, 1121, and *Wulstan's*, who wrote from 1050 to 1090.

But it will appear, from the extracts, to any one curious on this subject, that from 1122 to 1132 (where *Remaldus* begins and ends); and again, from 1132 to 1155, the idiom, words, and spelling are precisely the same.

Indeed, we must believe that our people were in love with their tyrants, if in fifty years they had caught up half the French tongue. But we have reason to know that they cordially

hated it, and every thing French, and made no secret of their resentment.\*

We are not, then, to take the last years of the Chronicle as a sample of the English of the time, but as the broken-english of a French monk, as it really was.†

In the portion of these annals which we attribute to Remaldus, i. e. from 1122 to 1132, Peterborough is always called Burch instead of Burh; and this peculiar spelling of his is extended to the charters interpolated in the years 656 and 963. In 1022, the use of the Saxon theta is awkwardly dispensed with, Northampton being written Norhthamtune, and Norwich Norhtwic; and shortly afterwards we find the

\* When Ingulfus wrote, the Government was extremely severe; but they used to sing Hereward's exploits in the most public places:—*prout adhuc in Triviis canuntur*.

† The characters also in which the Codex *Laud* is written are but *bastard-english*; small and very neat, and bearing *then* much the same affinity to our national mode of penmanship as French writing does at present. In proof of this, compare the *Laud* with either of the copies, *Tiberius*, A. VI., B. I., B. IV., all of which may be proved to have been written long after the *Laud*, but by English copyists.

letters *v* and *j* unknown at that time in our alphabet. The turn of the sentences seems also to be French, as for instance in A°. 1127.

“ Sothfeste men heom kepten on nihtes :”  
*Des hommes croyables les veillèrent par nuit :*  
 “ Sæidon thes the heom thuhte :”—*qu’il lui sem-  
 bloit.*

Enough has been said, I believe, to show that the writer was a Frenchman.

But he is to be identified with the *Prior Remaldus*.

It is worthy of notice, that the general tone of this last section is not modest and unassuming as in the others, but plainly bespeaks the *Dompnus*. Our officer seldom loses sight of his rank ; there are three or four tokens of it in the year last mentioned (1127).

Thæt wæs thes sunnen-dæies thæt *man sing-  
 ath* Exurge quare o Domine ;—and *the mu-  
 neces* herdon tha horn blawen.

Having good reasons to doubt the integrity of this writer, I cannot but observe his discontent with some of the sitting abbots, attributable either to *ambition* or to *disappointment*.

He was conscious, I apprehend, of considerable services, and hoped to advance himself by promoting party spirit in the abbey (a very easy

task); and we find that he *was* advanced. He did not live, however, to reach the abbot's chair.

*Ernulfus*, who made him *sacrist*, escapes without censure; but we are to understand that his successor, *John de Sais*, was a profane swearer, and partly the cause of the fire; and *Henry d'Anjou*, the next, was a greater devil than *John*. The next abbot, *Martin de Bec*, was not amiss: in his time, Remaldus was made *Prior*, and his brother Hugo *Sub-Prior*. On *Martin's* death, I rather suppose (vide Patrick's account, from Hugo, p. 283) that Remaldus expected the succession;\* but the monks elected a munificent person, one *William de Walterville*.

Neither Patrick nor Gunton are quite satisfied as to the cause of Abbot William's *deposition*, for he was much beloved. "The reason assigned by Hoveden is, *that he fell under the King's displeasure for his brother's sake, one Walter de Walterville, who had a castle in the neighbourhood, and whom Abbot William received with others of that party, then in arms against the King*. Of this offence, or some other, he was accused by his monks to the Archbishop (who came to the abbey for the purpose); and deposed." *Gunton*, 14.

\* This is *Hugo's* latest notice of Remaldus.

*Remaldus* was living (*says Patrick*) at the time of this deposition, which is the last we hear of him. *William* appealed to the *Pope*.

We will now endeavour to show that *Remaldus* CORRUPTED the former records.

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At the end of *Sparke's* edition of *Hugo*, he has printed a short history of Peterborough, in French verse, from a copy which *Bridges*, the county historian, lent him. "*My copy (says Sparke) was copied from an old MS. in Cotton's Library. It does not appear who the author was,*" &c. I have not been able to meet with it there, and it is probably lost; but from several peculiarities therein, I cannot doubt that it was written by *Remaldus*. Let us see; for *if so*, we may derive some assistance from it. It begins thus:—

"Cumencement de geste  
 Fort est à truver:—  
 Chose ke seit honeste  
 Ben deit l'um escuter.  
 Io endirai une  
 Duce chose en rime,  
 Clere, cum la lune  
 Quant l'um apele prime:  
 A Seinur e á Dame  
 Deit estre prisé," &c. &c.



“ De une Aboie est la geste  
*Burch* est anumé  
 Mes *Burch* ne out elle a nun  
 Quant primes fu truvé ;  
*Medeshamsted*, par dreit nun  
 Esteit apelé :—  
 Primes, dirum de *tuz le lius*  
*De cele cunté ;*  
 Puis, dirrum *les effères*  
*De chascun abbé*  
 Ke puis *cel ure* de kes *cest*  
*Vir l'unt giuverné.*—  
 Un des lius est *Rameseie*,  
 (Par la grace deu ;)  
*Torneie ;—Cruland ;—*  
 E *autres* assez :  
 A nul de ces ne pot venir  
 Si l'um ni alt per nef,  
 Fors á *Rameseie*  
 Del une costé.—  
*Ely* est un ile  
 En cele *Cunté*,  
 Set lius *lunge*,  
 Et auter taunt, *le :*  
 Vint e deux viles  
 De ewe enviruné :  
 Mais, ne par hoc, de treis  
 Punz est ele honoré.—  
*Al chef del graunt palu*  
*Est Burch herberie :*  
 A *Burch* commence la palu

*Si vait vers orient ;  
 Seizaunte liues dure,  
 (Si-com io entend :) &c. &c.*

Compare the above with Hugo's account of the site of the abbey :

"Sed, *primitus*, de situ loci pauca dicamus : *Gyrvi* vocantur hi qui *juxta* paludem, et *infra* paludem habitant ; nam, *Gyr* *anglice*, *latine profunda palus*, dicitur : ex inundatione enim, vel ex superfluxione amnium, stans aqua in equali terra profundam paludem efficit ; atque ita inhabitabilem reddit ; *præter quædam loca altiora*, quæ, credo, quod ad hoc Dominus illa extulit, ut habitacula fierent servorum Dei qui ibi habitare eligissent. *Habitant autem infra paludem in talibus locis Ramesienses, Thorneienses, Crulandenses, et plurimi alii ; ad quos accedi nullo modo nisi navigio poterit, præter ad Ramesiam ex una parte laboriosè operatum. Eli autem est Insula in eisdem finibus constituta, septem miliaria longa ; et todidem, lata ; et continens in se xxii villas ; undique paludibus et aquis circumdata, sed tamen tribus pontibus honorata. Burch vero in regione Gyrviurum est fundatus ; quia ibi incipit eadem palus orientali parte quæ per miliaria sexaginta et amplius durat,*" &c. &c.

The following account of the abbey in *Adulfus'* time, is extravagant. *It was not rich until*  
**LEOFRIC's** time :—

“ *Ke de une chose ; Ke de auter*

*Taunt li unt duné,*

*Ke plus esteit riche*

*Ke nule cité :*

*Par-co-ke taunt esteit riche*

*Haut nun l'unt duné*

*Gildenburch, par dreit nun*

*L'unt apelé ;*

*Uncore des ka cest iur*

*Burch est anume.—*

*A cel tens en tel reverence*

*Esteit icel muster,*

*Ke si erteveske, u cteské,—*

*PRIOR, u abbé ;—*

*Rei, u cunte, u barun,—*

*U noble chivaler,—*

*U clerc. u lei, u dame,*

*Iveinst pur urer—*

*Quant serreit à la porte*

*Se ferreit descouser ;—*

*Et diloc ; des ka'—*

*—vant irreit un per—*

*Sa offrende li mettreit,*

*De bone volonté :*

*Kar, enter le freres aveit*

*Si grant charité,—*

*E si graund religiun,—*

E tel autorité,  
 Ke, si *ocun de eus trespasat*  
*Par nule cunté*  
*Riches e Poveres lur chef*  
*Unt encliné*  
*Si-cum il eust esté*  
*Le aungel dampnedu;—*  
*E sa seint benedicun*  
*Li unt demaundé."*

"In tantâ, namque, reverentiâ, celeberrimus et sacer locus ille tunc temporis [Adulfi] habebatur; ut *quicumque*, *aux rex*, aut *episcopus*; *clericusve* aut *laicus*, orandi causâ illuc venisset, —mox ut ad portam monasterii venisset,—statem, *discalciatus*, —non aliter nisi nudis pedibus ecclesiam humiliter intraret; et quæque optima haberet, libenter, Deo et Sancto Petro offerret, propter nimiam caritatem, quam inter fratres ejusdem loci invenisset.—Et ubicunque Frater ipsius Cænobii transiret, vel veniret, *ut Angelus Dei* propter religionem ab omnibus inclinabatur, et suscipiebatur, et ei obediebatur, et ab eo benedictio petebatur. Inde actum est ut plus illuc in terris et rebus, quàm usquam alibi vicinorum locorum collatum est."—*Hugo*.

Our Remaldus was clearly the fabricator of the pope Agatho's charter; of which the authenticity has so often been asserted and denied.

We pass his first account of it, both here and in the Saxon Chronicle, (A° 675.) It was *recovered*, he says, when king Edgar came with Æthelwold (the founder) to the consecration, in 972.

This is the account of the recovery in the Chronicle, A°. 963.\*

DCCCCLXIII \* \* \* Syththan tha com se biscop Æthelwold to se cyng Eadgar; bed him thæt he scolde him giuen ealle tha minstre tha hæthene men heafden ær to-brocon, forþi thet he hit wolde ge-eadnewion; and se kyng hit blithelice tythode. And se biscop com tha fyrst to Elig, [&c. &c.] syththon com se biscop Æthelwold to thære mynstre the wæs gehaten Medeshamstede the hwilon wæs for-don fra hethene folce: ne fand thær nan thing buton ealldeweallas and wilde wuda. *Fande tha hidde in tha ealde wealle writes thet Headda abbot heafde ær gewriton Hu Wulfhere king and Æthelrede his brothor hit heafden wroht; and hu hi hit freodon with kyng, and with biscop, and with ealle weoruld theudom; and hu se papa Agatho hit feostnode mid his write and se arcebiscop Deusdedit. Leot wircen tha thæt mynstre*

\* We shall presently show that the Chronicle was corrupted a few years before the Rhymes were written, and that the Rhymes are a few years older than Hugo's History.

and sætte thær abbot se wæs gehaten Aldulf  
 [&c.] *Com tha to the cyng and leot him locon  
 tha gewrite the ær wæron gefunden : and se kyng  
 and-swerode tha and cwed Ic Ædgar geate and  
 gife to-dæi to-foren Gode, [&c. &c.]*

*Le Rei Edgar—*

“ Vit cæl muster noble,  
 E en bon liu posé ;—  
 E od Cuvent des moines  
 Tres-ben ordiné,—  
 Et des beaus aurnemenz  
 Le vit ben honuré :—  
*E oist les charités,  
 E les dignités*  
*Ke il aveient, en le veus parreis*  
*Del muster, truvez,*  
*Ke li moines jadis*  
*Aveient y miséz*  
*Quant li Daneis vindrent*  
*E li vulerent tuer ;—*  
*E oist le privilegges,*  
*E les auttoritez ;—*  
*Ke le pape Seint Agathun*  
*Li aveit otrié :*  
*Ke ele fust ausi fraunche*  
*Cum Rume la cité :” &c. &c.*

“ Post tempus autem cum rursum idem Rex  
 Edgarus revisere venisset idem dilectum sibi

monasterium cum sanctissimis Dunstano, Dornberensi, et Oswaldo, Eboracensi, Archiepiscopis; et cum omnibus Episcopis et abbatibus et Ducibus et optimatibus totius Angliæ;—*et vidisset tam nobilem monasterium; tam bene fratrum Conventu ordinatum; et officinis variis tam bene dispositum; et illud in tam optimo loco positum: insuper, et audisset quòd antiqua privilegia quæ monachi jam mortui in ipsis parietibus ecclesiæ inter petras absconderant, essent reperta;—et cognovisset quantæ auctoritatis essent;—et, inter cætera, quòd quicumque, non solum de tota Angliæ, sed, et de proximis regnorum nationibus, vel viæ longinquitate, aut varia necessitudine præpediti, Romæ, beatum Petrum revisere, non sufficiunt,—Hic, Eum requirant;—hic, vota persolvant;—hic, absolutioni peccatorum, &c. &c. credant—Valde lætatus est idem Rex quod tantæ auctoritatis locum in regno suo haberet: ac, præ nimio gaudio lachrymâsse fertur,” &c. &c.*

Jeremy Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History (i. 107), thus enumerates his reasons for suspecting Agatho's charter:—*Its exorbitant extent*, for the Abbot of Medeshamsted is thereby discharged from the jurisdiction of his *diocesan*, and even of a *synod*; and made the Pope's le-

gate all over England. 2dly, *Because it is affirmed to have been brought over by archbp. Wilfrid, and produced and subscribed by him at the council of Hatfield*; for Eddius does not mention that Wilfrid brought over this Bull, nor that he was at Hatfield. And it is plain that *he could not be there*: he was at Rome in 680, at the synod against the Monothelites, and on his return was imprisoned nine months in Northumberland; and the council of Hatfield was held in September 680. 3dly, *The difference between the Latin and the Saxon copy. The Saxon gives the Abbot a legantine power; the Latin only admonishes the Bishop of the diocese to favor him, and treat him like a brother.* 4thly. *In the Saxon copy, Ethelred, King of Mercia, subscribes the Bull at the council: Bede mentions none but the clergy as present.* 5thly. *The Pope discharges the abbey from all secular service.* The Popes, at that time, pretended to no such power. And 6thly. *The Legantine power; a power which the Abbots of Peterborough never exercised.*

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After Kenulfus, comes Elsinus, (as before.)

“Après li fu Alfri  
A Burch fet abbé :



Mut fu sage e prudum  
 Le liu ad avauncé.  
 Relikes e aurnemens  
 Mux ad purchasé.  
 E le Cors seint Florentin  
 De Bonval acaté," &c. &c.

(Which is the less certain, since he affirms it.)

"Quant L. aunz noblement  
 L'Eglise ad guverné,  
 En le service Deu  
 Est a sa fin alé," &c.

All the *superstitions* of the place, as well as its *false history*, are chargeable to our poet. In his account of the Abbot Leofric (Leuriz), we have this story.

"En sun tens fu un moine  
*Eilric* out a nun,  
 Cest fu seint e prudume ;  
 (A Deu le mercium !)  
 A' Eveske de Dunholm  
 Est echosi ;  
 Mult-ben le guvernad :  
 (En verite vus di.)  
 Kar, pur l'amur *dampnedeu*  
 Tost le desguerpi :  
 E taunt cum il le guvernad  
 Od graunt honur le tint.

\* \* \* \* \*

E, a ses freres a Burch,  
 Pur Deu servir remit.

“ Une vespre, cum il fist

En l'Eglise pur urer,  
 Estut le deble devaunt li

En le muster,

En le guise de une enfaunt,

F loinz del auter,

Si dist ke treis feis

*Destruereit le muster :*

*Al primer feis, serreit robé,*

E les moines, en-cacé :

*Al auter feis, serreit ars*

E tres-tut deguasté :

E à la terce, devereint

Le moines medler ;

E chascun moine, auter

Od sun cutel, tuer.

*Quant co ad dist si volt aler,*

Vers le graunt auter ;

Mais l'eveske li defend

Del part dampnedeu,

Quant co oit le deble

Il s'en vole cum fume

E apres-li en le muster

Tel puur ad lessé

Ke uncore de kes à mi-nuit

Ceinz-i ad duré.”

All which *Hugo* considers good matter of story.

Sed, cum ægrotaret Leofricus, sedente prædicto Egelrico, (qui fuerat Episcopus), quodam vespere, in ecclesia, more solito, intentus in orationibus; apparuit ei, visibiliter, Diabolus; in similitudine *pueri*, horribili aspectu; dicens se *NOVITER triumphaturum de altissimo eorum* [that he should beat them at last]. Adjecit enim, dicens sese, tribus vicibus, vindicaturum de monachis, et de monasterio: dixitque *modum*:—*primitus*, expulsurum se omnes monachos, et omnia bona ecclesiæ Danis diripienda *dixit*; et *alia vice*, omne monasterium per ignem destruendum *jactavit*. (*Hæc duo prophetiæ scimus jam esse completa. Et avertat Deus a tertia, ne sit vera; et sit ipsa, sicut est pater ejus spiritus mendax. Nolle dicere quæ sit ista tertia; sed cogunt me aliqui fratrum dicere propter providentiam. Ut unusquisque cautè se agat, et caveat se ab insidiis Diaboli, et ne iru eum superet.*) *Dixit enim Diabolus, se, instinctu suo, facere, ut aliqui fratrum, se invicem, cultellis suis, interficiant; et tunc, destruendum monasterium; quod avertat Deus, ne fiat.* Cum autem episcopus ei nihil responderet; sed, in oratione persisteret, cœpit *ire*; quasi, ad altare ire vellet. Sed, cum prohibuisset eum Episcopus, et dixisset, *increpet, te,*

*Dominus, Sathan ! non licet tibi ingredi in sancta sanctorum.* Diabolus, ut fumus, evanuit, et maximum fœtorem post se dimisit. Ita ut, cum fratres a collatione *ad completorium* venissent, adhuc duraret.

We have already mentioned that Athelwold sent certain relics from Ely to Ramsey for safe custody. The monks of Ramsey were unwilling to part with them.

Et cum Prior domi esset reversus, voluerunt monachi Ramisienses *detinere sanctas reliquias* ; sed gratiâ Dei, illis non licuit : nam Tuoldus Abbas minatus est se arsurum esse monasterium nisi reddidissent quod eis commendatum fuerat. Quâdam autem nocte cum esset secretarius illorum in ecclesia et vigilaret, audivit infantem, infantili voce et altâ *dicentem, ter Sanctus ! Sanctus ! Sanctus !* Qui cum abbati mane retulisset, intellexit statim idem Abbas quod non posset retinere sanctas reliquias ; et jussit ut redderentur. *Erat enim* in ipsâ capsulâ cum brachio Sancti Oswaldi, *Scapula unæ de Innocentibus ; quam et nos aliquando vidimus,* cum brachium fuisset ostensum Martino Abbati, &c. &c.

So much for Hugb's credulity : I doubt whether *Remaldus* believed it.

“ Une nuit après ico,—  
 (Quant ben fu reposé,)  
 Le segrestein de Rameseie  
 Vit en veillé,—  
 Oist un enfauntile vois  
 Dedens le muster  
 Sanctus ! Sanctus ! Sanctus !  
 Mult haut ad crié,” &c.

Now let us compare *Nicholas'* account of the *fire* with *Remaldus'*:

“MCXVI. On thisum ylcan geare bærnde  
 all thæt mynstre of Burh, and ealle tha hus-  
 as butan se Captel-hus, and se Slæpperne ; and  
 thæрто eac bærnde eall tha mæste dæl of tha  
 Tuna. Eall this belamp on an Frigdæg, thæt  
 wæs II. non. Aug.”

“ Le veil`de Seint Osuuald,  
*Li freres* sunt enter  
 En le refreitur  
 Pur les tables amender ;  
 Puis entra le Abé  
 (Par male destiné),  
 E vit ke il ne furent  
 Pas à sa volenté ;  
 Si lur maudist tres-tuz,  
 E puis s'en est alé ;—  
 A la Curt de Caster  
 Tost s'en est hasté :

Un Serjaunt fu en le pestrin  
 Si fu mult curcé,  
 Pur-co-ke le Fu ne art  
 Pas à sa volunté;  
 Si dist un mot au deble  
 Cum hume aragé  
*' Quant pur moi ne vulex,*  
*Vus arde le maufé.'*  
 E sitot cum il deble  
 Out anumé,  
 Par le engin del deble  
 Le Fu est enflaumé :  
 Si saut sus de kes a treff,—  
 Si ardout mult eler  
 E ard tuz les mesuns  
 E tres-tut le muster  
 E en la vile nul mesun  
 Ne remist enter :  
*E mis le truvun escrist,*  
*Si saivun de verité,*  
 Ke neuf iurs plenement  
 Cel Fu i ad duré.  
*Ore est parempli*  
 Co ke le maufé,  
 Dist jadis à Eilric," &c. &c.  
 "Deu defend le terce  
 Par sa pitié."

All which is repeated by Hugo ;—who moralizes upon the sin of setting the Devil to work, *who is always ready*, &c. I must refer the reader

to Sparke, or to Patrick's Translation, p. 273.

We have before observed, that the old records of the Abbey were corrupted before these verses were written, that is to say, before the year 1132; for they contain an account of all the abbots *à cest ure*, and end with the expulsion of Henry d'Anjou, which happened in 1132. Abbot Martin (of whom there is no mention) was elected in 1133.

“ Puis s'aparcut le rei  
De boidif le abbé,  
De voider sa tere  
Li ad cumaundé :  
E il s'en departat  
Dolent e curcé.”—*Fin.*

*Hugo* perceived and avoided many of the *rhymers's* mistakes; and thereby we know that his history was written later. They are hardly worth notice; but it is plain that he took no pains to understand the records.

The abbot Leofric went out with *Harold*, against the invader.

“ En icel tens Willam le Duc  
(Si-cum la letter dist ;)  
De Normandi, tut Engeltère  
Par sa force conquist :

E en sa Cumpainie  
 L'Abbé Leuriz esteit ;  
 E, diloc, à sa abboi  
 Malade veineit."

Thorold had never seen his abbey when  
 Hereward came and stripped it.

En le terz an après  
 Murut *Brand* l'abbé ;  
 (A Deu e à Seint Pere  
 Sa alme seit cumaundé :)  
 Le rei Guillam igulement  
 Le abboie ad duné  
 A un clerc de Normaundie  
 Toroud apelé.

*Quant poi-de-tems après ico*  
 L'aveit, guverne,  
 Vindrent le Daneis  
 La gent maluré :

\* \* \* \* \*

Heruuard lur amonestreit,  
 ' *Quei gisum vus ici ?*  
*Alum mis al Muster de Burch*  
*Od nos vasals hardi ;*  
*Si prengum or e argent,*  
*Si l'amenum deske ici,*  
*Kar mult i ud de richesce*  
*Par verité vus-dé !*

Un iur Toroud le Abé  
 Fu a Staunford alé," &c.

*Athelwold* and *Hugo* say, Thorold brought  
 but one hundred and sixty Normans.



“ Meimes cel iur ivint  
 Torold le Abbé  
 Od *deus ceux Normans*  
 Tres-ben armez.”

I have already exceeded in extracts ; there is one other passage, however, which must yet have place, because it is a rich assemblage of every thing preposterous.\*

“ 1127. Ne thince man na sellice, *that* we soth seggen ; for hit wæs ful cuth ofer eall land

\* I shall here take leave of Hugo, whose history has been praised on all hands to the full of its merits. Even *Bale* has forgotten his hatred of monks in *his* favour, and commends him without reserve.

But what shall we say of Hugo's Prologue ?—

“ *Primum, et Præcipue, Lectorem amoneo, ne rusticitatem verborum, vel dictaminis ; sed veritatem Hystoriolæ, attendat. Et si cui emendare vel melius dictitare placuerit, Concedimus: Dum, omnimodis, ex sensu inde aliquid demere caveat:—Sciens, pro certo, me, ex proprio, nihil fingere ; nec, ut placeam alicui, aliqua mendaciter componere. Testor enim Ipsam Veritatem, (quæ nescit mentiri,) me, nihil scribere ; nihil dictitare ; nisi quod in veteribus Scriptis repperi, vel antiquorum et fidelium narratione didici. Quod ille, item, qui studiose requirere voluerit, adhuc scripta repperire ; vel narrari, vel probari, potuerit.*”

Was ever *faith* carried so far ?

that swa radlice swa Henri, 'abbot, thær com (thæt wæs thes sunnendæies thæt *man singath* EXURGE QUARE O. D.) tha son thær æfter tha sægon and hærdon fela men feole huntas huntan. Tha huntas wæron swarte, and micle, and ladlice; and here hundas ealle swarte, and bradegede, and ladlice; and hi ridone on swarte hors, and on swarte bucces. Thes wæs segon on the selve der-fald in tha tune on Burch; and on ealle tha wudes tha wæron fram tha selva tune to Stanforde; and *the munecas* herdon tha horn blawen thæt hi blewon on nihtes; Sothfeste men heom kepten on nihtes, sæidon thes the heom thuhte thæt thær mighte wel ben abuton twenti othe thritti hornblaweres. This wæs sægon and herd fram thæt he thider com eall that Lented tid on an to Eastren. This wæs his ingang; of his utgang ne cunne we jett noht seggon. God scawe fore."\*

\* I take the liberty to insert Miss Gurney's translation of the above passage.

"Let no man think lightly of the marvel that we are about to relate as a truth; for it was full well known over all the country. It is this: That as soon as he came to Peterborough; (it was on the Sunday when [they] sing *Exurge quare o Domine*, several persons saw and heard many hunters hunting. These hunters were black, and large, and loathly; and their hounds were all black, with

“ En le primere an  
 Quant il esteit al Muster venu,  
 Si furent graunz Musters [*monstres*]  
 Oiz en nuz,  
 Par tut la Quareme :—(*De nuz*  
*Ne vue de iur,*)—  
 Parmi les champs,—parmi les pres,  
 Mut fu graunt hydur,—  
 De Burch deska Stanford  
 En bois tut-entur : [*entours*]  
 Si esteient tuz ners;  
 E alouent cum venurs :  
 Od neirs chens, e od cornes,  
 E ourent graunz ouz ;  
 E esteient xx ensemble,  
 U xxx, u x, u viii.”

Remaldus has here *corrupted himself*; for in

wide eyes, and loathly ; and they rode on black horses and on black bucks. This was seen in the very deer park of the town of Peterborough, and in all the woods from the same town to Stamford. And the monks heard the blasts of the horns which they blew in the night : men of truth kept in the night their watch on them, and said, that there might well be about twenty or thirty horn-blowers. This was seen and heard from the time that the abbot came thither, all that *Lent* until *Easter*. Such was his entrance : of his exit we can say nothing yet. God knoweth it.”

[That is to say : *this was written before 1132.*]

his English he tells us that the *dogs* had *large eyes*; whereas, in the French, that feature is transferred to the *men*. Hugo, I find, preferred the latter authority: *Oculos grandes Venatores habebant*. I observe one peculiarity in his version of the passage which proves that he was a Frenchman, if there were no other evidence of it. He takes the Saxon *bucces* to mean *boucs*, goats, (which *in this case* it does not;) and accordingly translates it *hædos*.

All our other writers, however, (except *Whittlesey*, *Gunton*, and *Patrick*,) think a *deer* a more appropriate steed than a *goat* for a micel hunter. Thus Dr. Gibson renders the words “on swarte bucces;” *nigris cervis*: Mr. Ingram, *on swarthy bucks*.

Eodem anno cum venisset ad abbatiam visa sunt et audita *Monstra* per totam Quadragesimam; et *hoc* noctibus; et per sylvas et per plana, a monasterio usque ad Stanford: nam visi sunt *quasi* venatores; cum cornibus, et canibus: sed omnes *nigerrimi* erant,—et *equi* eorum, et *canes*. Et aliqui quasi—*ædos* equitantes: et *oculos grandes habebant*: et erant quasi viginti aut triginta simul. Hoc non est falsum; quia plurimi veracissimi homines viderunt, et audierunt cornua.



**A HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**SAXON CHRONICLE.**



A HISTORY  
OF THE  
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HAVING in the preceding Essays endeavoured to bring the *principal Saxon annalists* to light, I now propose to give some account of the *annals* themselves, and of the various ancient copies yet in existence.

The characters in which they are written continued in use two centuries, or more, after the Conquest, without any material alteration. Subsequent to the Conquest, however, they were seldom used in Latin, and that event is the date of their decline.

Under the severe ordinances then introduced, the old letters, at one time, seemed about to be suddenly extinct; but there were a few patriots in the monasteries who preferred them still, and



we are indebted to such men for their preservation. *Ingulfus* was one.

Bewailing the loss of his charters in the fire of 1091, he attributes it to chance that any escaped. "A few years before," says he, "I had given several out of the treasury, of which we had duplicates, that they might be kept in the cloister for teaching the *juniors* the Saxon hand. Having been long slighted because of the Normans, it was come to be unknown, except by a few of the *seniors*; but the *juniors* were instructed to read the old letter, that they might *understand* and *maintain* our charters when they grew old."

And so the *old Saxon MSS.* continued to be copied from time to time long after the alphabet was supplanted by the *Latin* for ordinary purposes. The *theta* maintained its ground for ages after the other letters; but on the revival of learning, here, about the year 1500, the name of *Saxon* was hardly left.

A few years later, however, and when the alphabet was a mere puzzle, LAMBARD and JOSSELYN began to inquire after *Saxon MSS.*; and Josseling, who was the then *archbishop of Canterbury's* secretary, composed a *Saxon Grammar*; and, about the same time,

Lawrence Noel drew up his *Dictionary*,—*Saxon and English*, and gave Lambard the copy. But a more considerable step towards the revival of this obsolete learning was taken a few years afterwards, when, in 1574, *archbishop Parker* himself published his volume of *English Historians*. Amongst the MSS. edited in that volume, is a copy of *Asser*, which he printed *literatim*—a *Latin* TEXT and *Saxon* LETTER.

In his preface he apologizes for this novelty, and explains his motive for it: he had a great desire, he said, to see not only the alphabet, but the tongue itself, cultivated and understood. “It would be worth while to compare the dialect we use in the present day with that ancient tongue, now in a manner obsolete and extinct; and we should find, that they are very similar and almost the same.”—“Truly, reader, the perusal of that antiquated, and once domestic fashion of speech will renew former recollections, and at the same time furnish no mean store of abstruse knowledge. It will be easy to catch both the words and the meaning, when the old tongue and our own are so nearly alike.”

This publication was the *revival* of Saxon literature, which has flourished ever since. In

the course of the next fifty years, by the care and munificence of Sir Robert Cotton, ABB Parker and Laud, Lambard, Camden, Usher, Marsham, the elder Spelman, and other antiquaries, the remains of our monastic libraries, dispersed about 1540, (till when they had sheltered what little *Time* had spared,) were in a great measure retrieved; and finally, with a few exceptions, were lodged in Cotton's Library, and those of Oxford and Cambridge.

Of all the writings thus collected, such as relate our *History* before the Conquest seem the most interesting: they consist of several loose pieces, now interwoven and published in one book, under the name of the Saxon Chronicle. From the time of the Conquest our historians abandoned the use of their mother tongue, and ambitious of reaching a fine Latin style, disdained the ancient simplicity and plainness. Thus *Malmesbury* (who is an elegant writer) frequently tells us that he omits proper names, &c., because he would not shock the ears of posterity. If our Anglo-Norman history is better known than the other, we owe it to the greater number of writers, not to their superior method of writing, for refinement and declamation are great confounders of the truth.

It appears, I think, that *Gerard Langbaine* was the first who entertained thoughts of publishing this work. He left certain papers, now in the Bodleian Library, in which he mentions that he had fully made up his mind to print it, when he found that *Wheloc* had been beforehand with him. As the copy Langbaine alludes to was the most complete of the whole; namely, that presented to the University by the ill-fated Laud, it is possible that Langbaine's edition, had he given it, would have made further labour unnecessary. He died young, in 1657.

*Wheloc's* edition was not, however, all that could be desired; he was professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and doubtless a very learned man; but either through indolence, or because he knew nothing of the others, he consulted two MSS. only, and those not the most complete. One was the MS. given to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by the before-named Archb. Parker, and which Wharton, in his Essay inserted in this volume, supposes to have been written by Elfric; *the other* was a transcript of a MS. (or possibly the original MS.) formerly in Cotton's Library, marked *Otho, B. XI*, and now lost. With this latter document, a third Codex, however, as he says, called the Peter-

borough Book, *Annales Saxonici Petriburgenses*, had been collated, and the text thereby enlarged. The former of Wheloc's authorities is now supposed to have been compiled or transcribed by Archb. *Plegmund*, down to the year 891 ; so far it is written in one uniform, regular hand, copy-like. From 891 to 924 Wanley judges that it was written closely up by a contemporary ; from 924 it is continued in different hands to 1070.

Wheloc's second Codex, *Otho*, or *transcript* of *Otho*, ends in the year 1001.

Mr. Wheloc's edition appeared in folio, Cambridge, 1643, at the end of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* ; but it does not seem to have attracted due notice. For many years afterwards, history continued to be written with little or no reference to these annals. Down to the year 1686, the learned bishop *Patrick* was probably ignorant of their existence, and therefore his *History of Peterborough* is defective.

Mr. Wharton's two volumes, entitled *Anglia Sacra*, appeared in 1691 and 1692: in compiling which he had made use of Wheloc's edition, and discovered its imperfections. He frequently quotes the *Annales Saxonici Petriburgenses*, where *Wheloc* is deficient, and from

one of these quotations, (i. 405) Bishop *Nicholson* remarks, that "this *Peterborough Codex*\* was never thoroughly compared with any copy hitherto published, and differs from them all."

Whilst Wharton was engaged upon his *Anglia Sacra*, Mr. *Gibson* (afterwards bishop of *London*) was also busy upon these ancient chronicles, and at length *his edition* was published at Oxford in 1692.

In his preface he gives a kind of history of his labours. He informs us that he was strongly incited to undertake that edition by his friend, *John Mills*,† from a due consideration of the value of the original: that it was indisputably a most august monument of antiquity, such as you may look for amongst neighbouring nations in vain; the fountain-source from which are drawn, and to which are to be traced, whatever *Florence* of Worcester, and other after writers,

\* I have not been able to meet with any mention or trace of this Peterborough MS. beyond Wharton. Mr. Ingram observes, it was formerly kept in the chapter-house at Peterborough, but is now supposed to be lost. Patrick, in his preface, speaks thus of the Records of this church: "One ancient book, indeed, and but one, still remains (ss) Swapham."

† Principal of Edmund's Hall.

have delivered concerning those times : that the learned were all loud in praise of this chronicle, and urgent for an edition more entire and finished than *Wheloc's* ; who, according to the observations of *Junius*, *Marshall*, and other scholars, had deprived the world of what *Langbaine* might have done, by his own faulty and mutilated edition ; that those gentlemen (*Junius* and *Marshall*) had made use of their interest with bishop *Fello*, in order to the printing that choice historical performance (till then in a great measure buried in parchments) according to the text of the approved and entire Codices in the University library : that the bishop consenting, on their suggestion the work was committed to the distinguished *William Nicholson*, who had then lately returned from *Germany*, well acquainted with German, and skilled, if ever man was, in the Saxon dialects ; but that *Nicholson*, being shortly afterwards preferred in a cathedral remote from *Oxford*, had left to him, *Gibson*, the principal labour and credit of his task.

With regard to *his fitness*, he modestly observes that he had plenty of *leisure*, but *ability*, and a *competent knowledge of Saxon*, were to seek ; consequently, his difficulties at first were

considerable, but he was in a great measure relieved upon *Hickes'* publication of his *Saxon Grammar*.\*

"As we ought not to think of such a work (says Gibson) until we have the whole text before us, I carefully consulted and compared the several MS. Codices."—"It unfortunately happened that neither of the two *Wheloc* made use of, comprised the *entire* Chronicle, but fragments only, here and there, and *not happily*, excerpted.† We learn that we now have it entire. *His* came only a little below the year 1000, and may be said to be copies of each other. I am not wishing to detract from *Wheloc's* fame; he edited what he had, and was a truly learned man (*doctissimus*): but *since that time*, three other Codices have appeared. We attribute the first place in merit to the Codex we call *Laud*, because found amongst the books which archbishop Laud gave to the Bodleian library. To this manuscript alone, the Saxon annals owe more than to all the others; for, not to mention that we have made use of none but that from the year 1070 downwards, we have taken from the earlier parts of it a vast

\* In 4to. Oxford, 1689.

† This is not strictly the fact (*vide infra*.)



deal of new matter, supplied many vacancies, and been enabled to correct infinite corruptions and mistakes. It is neatly written, and by various penmen, and at various periods also, as the difference in the characters indicates; and as its idiom gradually approaches our present fashion of speech, so the form of the letters assimilates, towards the end, to our present manner of writing.

“Although no mention be made of the library to which it anciently belonged, (that omission is frequent in old MSS.) it cannot be doubted that it belonged to the *church of Peterborough*. It frequently touches upon affairs of that church, of which no other Codex takes notice. And why otherwise should it contain three entire charters granted to that monastery?”

After making some further observations respecting this his principal MS., *Gibson* shortly describes two others, making five all together, including the two edited by *Wheloc*:

“The Bodleian library has also supplied us with another Codex, which we call *Cant*; and that also is a gift of the same archbishop (*Laud*). This, although much inferior to the former, (for it is written upon paper, and in a later hand, unacquainted with the Saxon

tongue,) is not, I think, to be despised; for it exhibits not a few particulars wanting in all others, and therefore it must be a transcript of one now perished, either from fire, age, or accident.

“The Codex, which in this edition is distinguished as *Cod. Cott.\** is to be found in Sir John Cotton’s library, in London. The celebrated *Francis Junius* has compared this with his printed *Wheloc*, and taken notes of the various readings in the margin, with a view, I suppose, to a second edition.”

Dr. (afterwards bishop) *Nicholson*, the original undertaker of Gibson’s work, published his *English Historical Library* in three parts, 8vo. London, 1696-9. He first observed that *Gibson* was wrong in supposing he had got all the text before him. His materials, he says, in addition to *Wheloc*’s, were—first, the *Laud*, “which, if it did anciently belong to the *monastery of Peterborough*, it is plain it cannot be the same wherewith Mr. *Wheloc*’s *Cottonian MS.* had been compared, though its variations from it are not very considerable,\* mostly in

\* Domitian, A. VIII. *Bibl. Cott.*

† Dr. Nicholson was not aware of the whole difference between them.

words, and not in sense." Second, the *Cant*, "a paper transcript, now lost, differing from all the rest, and sometimes explaining their dark passages, and supplying their defects." Third, *Cod. Cott.*\* "a better copy than it had been Mr. Wheloc's fortune to meet with in the *Cottonian library*."

"Perhaps (says he) some further enlargements and additions might yet be made to this work out of such MSS. as came not early enough to Dr. Gibson's view and knowledge. Of this number I take to be—1. *The Saxon Chronicle from Julius Cæsar down to the reign of King Edward the Martyr*,† in Sir John Cotton's library; for if it ends, as Mr. Wharton says it does, in 975, it must be different from what was perused by Mr. Wheloc. 2. *Another in the same library, from Julius Cæsar down to the Conquest*,‡ transcribed by Sumner, and now, under the title of *Chronicle of Abingdon*, amongst his MSS. at Canterbury. 3. *A third, in Latin and Saxon*,§ also *in Cotton's library*,

\* *Domitian A. VIII.* ending in 1058.

† *The Tiberius A. VI.*, of which Gibson's *Cant* is a transcript; it ends in 977.

‡ *Tiberius B. I.*

§ This MS. Gibson had, and calls it *Codex Cottonianus*.

frequently referred to by Mr. *Wharton*, and seems to have recorded many particulars of note not mentioned by any of the rest. This book (*Domitian*, A 8,) was given (according to Archbishop *Usher*) by Mr. *Camden* to Sir *Robert Cotton*. Archbishop *Usher* also mentions a copy of his own,\* worth the inquiring after. 4. The *Book of Peterborough*, which was never thoroughly compared with any copy hitherto published, and differs from them all. May we not also bring into this list those hinted at by Dr. *Kennett*,† in his *Life of Sumner*, pp. 30—66; and that which Mr. *Sumner* had from Mr. *Lambard* ?”‡

But without seeming to lay much stress upon the assistance of these unconsulted documents, *Nicholson* passes the following liberal and handsome judgment upon his friend's performance.

“I am inclinable to think that a part of the old *Chronicle* which has had so much honour done to it by Dr. *Gibson*, was written before the venerable *Bede's* time.”

“Out of *Wheloc's*, and his three additional codices, we have the text made up as entire

\* The *Dublin Transcript of Otho*, B. XI.

† These may be *Tiberius B. I.* and *B. IV.*

‡ Doubtless the same with the *Dublin transcript*.

and complete as it was possible to give it us; with an elegant and proper translation, void of all affected strains and unlucky mistakes, which used to abound in works of this kind. If some few passages have a little puzzled the ingenious publisher, let it be considered that in these, *Florence of Worcester* and *Matthew of Westminster*, who lived nearer the times wherein they were penned, were much more lamentably gravelled.”—*Eng. Hist. Lib. Ed.* 1776. p. 38.

Mr. *Gibson* having thus, (as he professed to do) *mude the Saxon Chronicle intelligible*,—from that time forward, 1692, it became the greatest authority referrible in English history. And not without reason: *his* latin translation, as well as his text, was also of greater repute than *Wheloc’s*, which last soon grew to be useless.

But about ten or fifteen years ago, it began to be considered that *Gibson’s* edition was defective. The most obvious claim the *Chronicle* has to our favour is not, in fact, a substantial merit: mankind are curious, however, to *inquire*, and gratified to *listen* to the household speech of their fathers at any remote period; and few are indifferent to hear that this taste may be indulged to the stretch of a thousand years. *Gibson*, and *Wheloc* before him, saw

that this was an accidental quality, altogether distinct from its use as a monument of history, and their only care was how best to fix and possess the world of its rare knowledge.

They *both* deserve our thanks for their choice of means. The value of many English words has fluctuated a good deal even since Gibson's time, and it is the case in *every living language*. It was with a view to prevent it, that the *Dictionary* of the *Spanish Academy* is interpreted not by *national synonyms*, but by true and invariable *equivalents* in *Latin*; and so of many other great works abroad. The *fame*, if not the *usefulness*, of the book in foreign countries was also promoted by a latin version. An *English* version in their day would have shaded their reputation as scholars; and thus for many reasons their course was preferred. The *Latin columns* of some of Elfric's School Exercises, has *fixed the sense* of certain words otherwise *obscure*, and the precedent might have some weight.

But the time was come for an *English* version of the Chronicle, and at length a learned lady undertook a literal translation of the whole. The book was printed in 12mo. *Norwich*, 1819, unencumbered with either note or text, and so

far well calculated for popular use. *Mr. Ingram* abstains from any direct judgment on this performance, and it will become me to do the same; but I cannot help observing that I have seen nothing in it to censure, and much worthy of praise. *Her* version of the Record of 975, unlike *Mr. Ingram's*, is in prose. A short extract appears in the note.\*

\* 1. *Saxon.*

“And tha wearth eac adræfed deor-mod hæleth, Oslac, of earde: Ofer ytha-gewealc; ofer ganotes bæth; gamol feax hæleth, wis and word-snotor,—ofer wætera-gethring;—ofer Hwæles-æthel;—Hama-bereafod.”

2. *Gibson.*

“Tum etiam fuit dilectus Dux Oslacus, pulsus de terra; Trans fluctuum volutationem; Trans fulicarum balneum; —Promissâ cæsarie, heros; sapiens, et sermone prudens: Trans fremitum aquarum; Trans balnæarum patriam; Lare spoliatus.”

3. *Miss Gurney.*

And then also that beloved chieftain, Oslac, was driven from the land; and that long-haired warrior,—wise and discreet in words,—was borne, bereaved of a home, on the rolling waves; on the sea-bird's bath; on the roaring waters; over the country of the whales.”

4. *Mr. Ingram.*

“Then, too, was driven  
Oslac beloved,

The publication was stopped for the reason mentioned in the translator's preface ; but there is a copy in the *British Museum* with this title, " *A literal Translation of the Saxon Chronicle, by a Lady.*"—" Presented to the British Museum by *Hudson Gurney, Esq.* Aug. 4, 1819."

The preface is short—" The following version of the Saxon Chronicle was undertaken by a lady in the country, who had only access to the printed texts. It was far advanced towards its completion before she was informed that the public was speedily to be indebted to the *Rev. Mr. Ingram* for a collated edition of these singularly valuable annals, accompanied by a translation and notes."

And at length Mr. Ingram's book made its

An exile far  
From his native land.—  
Over the rolling waves ;  
Over the ganet-bath ;  
Over the water-throng,—  
The abode of the whale :  
Fair-haired hero ;  
Wise and eloquent ;  
Of home bereft."

Mr. Sharon Turner has also *versified* this passage, (ii. 92. 2nd quarto ed. 1807.)



appearance, in quarto, London, 1823.\* A work of great labour and expense, well bestowed upon a good subject. I have observed a few mistakes, however, pertinent to my own subject, and which I have endeavoured to rectify.

Mr. Ingram's preface contains some remarks on the original materials of the Chronicle to Alfred's time : portions of it are to be found, it seems, in the writings of *Gildas*, *Nennius*, *Bede*, and *Alfred*. He alludes also to certain indirect evidence, that *Plegmund*, *Dunstan*, and *Alfric*, Abps. of *Canterbury*, had some part in the compilation; and he agrees, in effect, with Gibson's seeming opinion, (though without citing proofs,) that the Chronicle, from 891, was continued by cotemporary writers.

With respect to the *author of this* the first part of my subject, perhaps I can hardly say too little; and *for this reason*: it is still a question whether *Plegmund was the original compiler or not*; and *all* I have been able to collect leads me but to *doubt* it. It is, besides, a *substantive inquiry*, which I am well content to leave to others. *This copy*

\* The Anglo-Sax. Chronicle, &c. "By the Rev. J. Ingram, B. D., rector of Rotherfield Grey's, Oxfordshire; and formerly Anglo-Saxon Professor in Oxford."

of the Chronicle begins, as the rest in general do—from the time of our Saviour; but the copies *Laud*, *Tib. B. I.* and *Tib. B. IV.* begin with a geographical account of the Island of Britain. *They none of them* contain any thing of value until the Saxons *settled* here. *Gibson* also observes that much of the early *ecclesiastical* knowledge is to be found in *Bede's* writings.

Mr. Ingram computes that the ancient and recognized *MSS.* are *nine* in number, besides *four* esteemed *transcripts*, (upon each of which separately he makes some comment.)

The ancient copies of the Saxon Annals seem now to be reduced to *six*, *four* of which are in *Cotton's Library*. The *fifth* is that in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and the *sixth* that in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

We have already mentioned that those in *Cotton's Library* are in the codices *Tiberius, A. VI. Tiberius, B. I. Tiberius, B. IV.*, and *Domitianus, A. VIII.* The *Cambridge* copy is amongst the *Parker MSS.*, and the *Oxford* copy is numbered *Laud, E. 20.*

In *Josseling's* time there seems to have been *other* copies in existence: in his notes in the copy

*Tiberius*, B. IV. he makes frequent mention of a copy of *Dr. Wutton's*; and of another of *Twyne's*;—probably *Brian Twyne*, the writer on the antiquity of Oxford: and this was not the copy *Laud*. I think *Laud* had *his* copy from Peterborough in 1634. And we may here repeat, that in *Wheloc's* time there were *two* other copies in existence: *one* in *Cotton's* Library, in codex numbered *Otho*, B. XI.; the *other*, commonly called the *Peterborough Book*; or, *Annales Saxonici Petriburgensis*: these are now both of them lost.

*Mr. Ingram* reckons amongst the ancient copies one single sheet of a *ninth* copy, in *Cotton's* Library, in codex *Tiberius*, A. III., containing the genealogy of the ancient kings of Wessex.

The *existing MSS.* may be numbered thus:

No. I. *The Cambridge Copy.*

This is the most ancient of any; compiled, as it seems, in the year 891, and continued at intervals from that year to 1070. *This* is the MS. which *Mr. Wharton* mentions: he supposed it was compiled by *Elfric* in the year 975, but *Elfric* seems never to have seen it.

It was continued, however, after *Plegmund's*

time by *some person who probably died in 977*, and *there* it rested for years : in which state several copies were taken of it as of a *complete* book.

The reason Mr. Ingram calls *this* MS. *Plegmund's* is, because he believes that Plegmund was the original *compiler*, and also *transcribed* it. He says, afterwards,

“ *Plegmund* and *Alfred* seem to have had some share in compiling the first part of it. There seems to be nothing of any great value in it beyond *Alfric's* time, whose death is recorded after a considerable chasm in 1005.”

This MS. contains three pieces of heroic poetry in the years 937, 942, and 975 ; they are not perhaps written by the same hand as the rest, for the two former are also in the copy *Tiberius B. IV.* The writer of the *first* (937) was a poet.

It is also observable, (in evidence that the poetical articles were loose,) that the copies *Tiberius B. I.* and *Tiberius B. IV.* both contain, in 1036, the verses on the murder of young *Alfred*, though they are not otherwise alike.

In all these pieces, (as well as in another in 1066,) there is a strange attempt to raise the style by the use of antiquated language. *Whe-*

*loc* was struck with the three first-mentioned passages, and seems hardly to have known they were metrical. "*The idiom HERE,*" says he, in 937, "*and in 942 and 975, is very ancient and barbarous.*" Gibson will not allow this.

"Very ANCIENT, without a doubt; but yet not to be called BARBAROUS. It is rather an imitation of the elegant style of *Cædmon*, in which, *for its sublimity*, the triumphs of their heroes were accustomed to be sung."—p. 112.

No. 2. *Cotton's Tiberius, A. VI.*

This is a *duplicate* of the *Cambridge* copy down to 977, where it ends. This MS. however, was not transcribed from No. 1 *at first hand*; for Mr. Gibson observes, that he found it to contain some things which Wheloc's edition of the other does not. Mr. Josseling collated this copy with our next. He marks little difference.

No. 3. *Cotton's Tiberius, B. I.*

This is also a duplicate of the *Cambridge* copy down to 977. Elfric's annals follow, which end in 1016. From that year, its contents are frequently *original* down to 1056, in which year it ends; though a few pages forward it contains

a short extract (beginning in 1065) from *Tiberius*, B. IV.

This copy is called the *Abingdon* copy (where it was apparently written from 1016 to 1056). In *Josseling's* time (about 1570) it belonged to a Mr. *Boyer*.

No. 4. *Cotton's Tiberius*, B. IV.

The original contents of this MS. are, I think, *Elfric's* annals, and a *part* only of *Wulstan's*; and nothing more: it ends in 1079. This is its description in the Library Catalogue:

“Chronicum Saxonicum a Christo nato ad an. 1052, et postea ad ann. 1079 continuatum. In eo desiderabantur non ita quidem omnia ab anno 261 usq. ad annum 693 quæ ex Historicis Saxoniciis Monasteriorum Ecclesiæ Christi et S. Augustini, Cantuariæ; Petriburgensis, Abendonensis, usq. ad annum 633 feliciter supplevit Joannes Josselinus. Idem vir doctus, passim, etiam, variantes lectiones ex laudatus codicibus, cum notis, in contextu operis, et in margine inseruit.”

No. 5. *Cotton's Domitianus*, A. VIII.

This is a *duplicate*, something *abridged*, of the copy, No. 1, and of *Elfric's annals*. It also

contains a *portion* of the *copy*, No. 3. It ends in 1058.

This copy was very *hastily* made, and many years after the Conquest; space was originally left at the end of each year for a Latin version, but the space was always insufficient, and the version very careless. Some of the letters are *Saxon* by mistake. For a specimen of its variance from the other copies, compare the following extract with *Elfric*, sub an. 1013.

“And se cing Ægelred sende his cwene Ælfgiue Ymma to hire brother ofer sæ Ricarde and Ælsige, abbot, mid hire; and Ælfun, biscop, mid tham Æthelingum, Eadward and Ælfrede, ofer sæ; that he hi bewitan sceolde.”  
*Rex itaque Æthelredus misit reginam Emmam ad fratrem suum Ricardum, trans mare; et Ælsinum Abbatem de Burh cum Eā,—Episcopum etiam Alfhunum cum filiis suis Eadwardo et Ælfredo cum matre illorum.*

#### No. 6. *The Oxford Copy.*

This copy is particularly mentioned in our notice of *Gibson's edition*. Mr. Ingram's estimate of it is very moderate; and Gibson's was, apparently, excessive: but he knew nothing of the two copies, *Tiberius*, B. I. and B. IV. and without them this was indeed a treasure. Its *exclusive contents* are still very considerable, and

it is yet what *he* describes it to be, *the most valuable and complete of all the copies.*

Mr. Ingram's account of it is this: "*It is a fair copy of older chronicles, with a few inaccuracies, omissions, and interpretations, to the year 1122; therefore no part of it was written before that period. The next ten years\* rather exhibit different ink, than a different writer. From 1132,\* to the end A.D. 1154,† the language and orthography became gradually more Normanized, particularly in the reign of king Stephen, the account of which was not written till the close of it.*"

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*Cotton's Otho, B. XI. (lost.)*

Mr. Ingram takes note of *two existing transcripts* of this MS. *Wheloc* made use of *one* (which he calls *Codex Cottonianus*) in his edi-

\* The reader will perceive little or no difference on comparing our extracts from 1122—1132, with any later year.

† 1054, *old style*. The abbot Martin died in January 1055; and this copy includes king Henry's visit to Peterborough, after his *successor* was chosen and confirmed abbot.



tion; and *the other* is now in *Trinity library, Dublin*. This MS. (*Otho*) ends in 1001. It is but a duplicate to that year of the *Cambridge copy*, (No. 1.)

*The Peterborough Copy, (lost.)*

Neither is the loss of this copy (generally called the *Annales Saxonici Petriburgenses*) much to be lamented. It contains the falsifications in the *Oxford Copy*, LAUD; and its differences from the *Tiberius*, B. IV. are all inserted by *Josseling*, in the margins and blank leaves of the *Tiberius*.

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Mr. Ingram attaches some importance to three other documents. The *first* of which is a *transcript by Junius* of the fragment in *Tiberius*, A. III. *Second*, a *transcript, formerly archbishop Laud's*, of the MS. *Tiberius*, A. VI. Gibson made use of *this* in his edition, and calls it *Codex Cant.*; but *Dr. Nicholson* says *it is lost*. *Third*, a *copy of Wheloc*, collated by *Junius* with the *Domitian*, A. VIII.

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*Remarks on the Canterbury Annals.*

Whatever Mr. Ingram's evidence may be, that PLEGMUND compiled the *Cambridge copy* in 891, and continued it to about 924,\* I am not prepared to question the fact; and yet, perhaps, (*as to the continuation at least,*) his thesis is disputable.

Thirty-four years have always been assigned to this archbishop; but there is a miscalculation of about thirteen years between *his* accession and *Dunstan's*.

Diceto mentions an archbishop Wulfhelm, (ex-bishop of Wells, and second AB. from Plegmund,) who, he says, sat *ten years*, (Estry's *Catalogue* of the Archbishops says thirteen, and the *Annal. brev. Roff.* nine.); *perhaps there was no such archbishop*; and certainly his name is not amongst the rest, in the *Dies Obituales*

\* "From internal evidence of an indirect nature, there is great reason to presume that archbishop Plegmund transcribed or superintended this very copy of the Saxon Annals to the year 891, the year in which he came to the see. Wanley observes it is written in one and the same hand to this year, and in hands equally ancient to the year 924; after which it is continued in different hands to the end."—*Mr. Ingram's Preface.*

*Archiepp. Cant.*; if there was, the years which he sat must be taken from *Plegmund's* 34, [ *Vid.* 1. *Angl. Sacra.*] “Anno 924, (say the *Ann. brev. Roff.*, mistaking both the names, but right in the year,) Adelmo archiepiscopo successit Wulfelmus. [1 *Angl. Sacr.* 85.] Now it is certain, (vide *Asser*, and the best authorities,) that *Plegmund* was made archbp. in 889 or 890, (not in 891,) still he might live to write this chronicle till 924:—let us believe it. But judging from the copy *Tiberius, B. I.*, I see little appearance of a present hand in these *Canterbury Annals* from a year or two after 891; nothing which might not be collected out of the lives of cotemporary saints. Frequent blanks for several years together, with here and there a few dry facts—905. *A comet, 13 kal. Novbris.* 906. *St. Oswald's body carried from Bardney.* 913. *Ethelfled built Tamworth and Stafford.* 915. *Warwick built.* And it is evident that these annals were not, at this time, a cotemporary work; for, after a few such entries, between 891 and 915, the compiler begins again with 896, and inserts another short collection of such-like facts.

It is very true, that previous to 959, there are some valuable articles in this copy, which seem

written from *sight*; and for that reason I can hardly think they were written by *Dunstan*,\* who lived principally in his abbey of Glastonbury until this year (959), when he was made archbishop. All the business of the kingdom afterwards passed through his hands until his death (19 May, 988); and yet, from 959 to 971, these Canterbury Annals are *blank*.

From 971 to 988, I look for the indirect evidence Mr. Ingram finds, *in vain*: the most prominent articles in the section are those of 973 and 975; which, (*unfortunately*), are both poetical, and must be translated to be understood. Now *these*, if *any thing*, are Dunstan's. The reader will judge.

It would be folly in me to attempt a better translation than Miss Gurney's: if I had permission, I should be glad to publish the whole instead of my glossary.

"DCCCCLXXIII. Her Eadgar wæs engla waldend corthre mycclum to kinge gehalgod on thære ealdan byrig Acemannes-ceastre. Eac hie eg-buend othre worde beornas bathan nemnath; thær wæs blis mycel on tham eadgan dæge eallum geworden thone nitha-bearn nemnath and cegeath pentecostenes dæg: thær wæs preosta-heap,

\* "The indirect evidence respecting *Dunstan* is as curious as that concerning *Plegmund*," &c.—*Mr. I.'s Preface*.

mycel muneca-threat, mine gefræge, gleawra, gegaderod : and tha ugangen wæs tyn hund wintra geteled rimes fram gebyrdtide bremes cinges ; leohta-hyrdes ; butan thær to lafe tha get wæs winter geteles, thæs gewritu secgath, seofan and xx, swa neah wæs sigora frean thusend aurnen, tha tha this gelamp ; and him Eadmundes eafona hæfde nigen and twenti nith-weorca heard wintra on worlde tha this geworden wæs ; and tha, on tham thrittigæthan, wæs theoden gehalgod."

" 973. This year Edgar, the ruler of the English, was consecrated as king with great pomp in the ancient town of Ace-mannes-ceaster, which the inhabitants also call Bath. There was much joy among all the sons of men on that blessed day, called the day of Pentecost. There was a multitude of priests, and a great throng of monks, wise men in my mind, gathered there. At that time ten hundred years were reckoned to have passed away since the birth of the King of Glory—the Keeper of Light, excepting only that as writers say twenty-seven winters were wanting thereto, so nearly was the thousandth year of our conquering Lord completed when this event took place ; and the son of Edmund, the man of mighty deeds, had then been nine-and-twenty years in the world, and in his thirtieth year he was a king, and consecrated."

“MCCCCLXXIV. Her geendode eorthan dreamas, Eadgar, engla cing; ceos him other leoht, wlitig and winsum; and this wace forlet lif, this læne nemnath leoda-bearn, menn on moldan; thone monath gehwær on this ethel-tyrf tha the ær wæron on rim cræfte rihte-getogene, Julius nemnath, thær se geonga gewat, on thone eahtothan dæg, Eadgar, of life; beorna beah-gifa; feng his bearn syththan to cyne-rice; cild unweaxen, eorla-aldor, tham wæs eadmund nama; and him tyr-fæst hæleth; x nih-tum ær of Brytene gewat bisceop se goda thurh gecyndne cræft tham wæs Cyneweard nama. Tha wearth on myrcum, mine gefræge, wide and welhwær waldendes lof afylled on foldan; feala wearth to-dræfed, gleawra godes theowa; thæt wæs gnornung mycel tham the on breostum wæg byrnende lufan meotodes on mode. Tha wæs mærtha fruma to-swythe forsawen; sigora-waldend; rodera-rædend; tha man his riht to-bræc. Tha wearth eac adræfed deor mod hæleth, Oslac of earde; ofer ytha-ge-wealc; ofer ganotes bæth; gomol feax hæleth, wis and word-snotor; ofer wætera-gethring; ofer hwæles-æthel; hania-bereafod. Tha wearth eac æt-ywed, uppe on rode-rum, steorra, in stathole; thone stith ferhthe hæleth higegleawe, hatath, wide cometa, be naman,—cræft gleawa menn, wise, woth-boran: wæs geond wer-theode waldendes wracu wide; gefræge hungor ofer hrusan; thæt, eft, heofana-weard, gebette; brego engla; geaf eft blisse gehwæm egbuendra, thurh eortham wæstm.”

“975. This year, Edgar, king of the English, ended his earthly joys. He chose for himself another light, beautiful and pleasant; and

gave up this worthless life, which the children of the people, the men of dust, confess to be so vain. It was in that month, which every where in this country is called July by those who have been rightly instructed in the art of numbers, and on the 8th day of the month, that the young Edgar, the giver of bracelets to the valiant, departed this life; and then his son, a child not full grown, succeeded to the kingdom. He was the ruler of earls, and his name was Edward—a prince most excellent. Ten days before this, Britain lost Cyneward, that good and kindly bishop. At that time, to my mind, the glory of the supreme Governor was trampled on throughout Mercia; many of God's wise servants were driven away; and this was a great sorrow to those who bore in their hearts and minds an ardent love of their Creator. Then indeed was the Author of miracles set at nought—he who is the Disposer of victory, and the Lawgiver of heaven, when men violated his right. Then also was driven (vide p. 194). And then also a star appeared in the sky; above, in the firmament, which strong-minded men of deep learning, skilful men, and wise soothsayers, universally call a comet. The vengeance of the Almighty was upon the nation,

and a dire famine in the country—[*the hills, Ingr.—sæviit fames per montes. Gibs.*] Ruler of heaven! Lord of the angels! Let it again away, and give bliss to every inhabitant through the fruitfulness of the earth.”

I have forborne, till now, to remark an error of Wharton's. In his argument respecting Elfric, (pp. 14, 15, 27,) he says that the writer of the year 977, narrates therein *the young King Edward's death*, and therefore,” &c. It seems doubtful whether 975 and 977 were written *by one hand* or not. *After 977*, this copy lay, without addition, for some years; and *certainly DUNSTAN* did not write the following:

“MCCCLXXVII. Her wæs thæt mycele gemot æt Kirtlingtune, ofer Easton; and thær forth-ferde Sideman bisceop on hrædlican deathe on ii kl. mai. Se wæs Defenascire bisceop; and he wilnode thæt his lic-ræste sceolde beon æt Cridiantune æt his bisceopstole. Tha het Eadweard cing and Dunstan arcebisceop thæt hine man ferede to Sca-Marian mynstre thæt is æt Abbandune; and man eac swa dyde: and he is eac arwyrdlice bebyrged on tha north healf on Scs. Paulus portice.”

977. “This year a great meeting was held after Easter at Kirtlington; and there *Bishop Sideman died suddenly*, on the second of the kalends of May. He was Bishop of Devonshire,



and he willed that his body's resting-place should be at his see of Crediton. Then *King Edward* and Archbishop Dunstan commanded that he should be carried to Saint Mary's monastery of Abbendon. This was done; and he was honourably buried on the north side of Saint Paul's aisle."

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The only passage in these annals *any way assignable to Alfric*,\* is the following: and *this* was apparently written in *Hampshire*, rather than *Canterbury*. *Elphegus* is a better guess, —Bishop of Winchester from 984 to 1005—in *which year* he was made Archbishop.

"M1. Her on thissum geare was micel unfrith on Angelcynnes londe thurh scip-here; and wel-gehwær hergedon and bærndon swa thæt hie up asetton on ænne sith thæt hie comon to Æthelinga-Dene; and tha com thær to geanes Hamtun-scyr, and him-with gefuhton; and thær

\* "From the time of *Alfred* and *Plegmund*, these Chronicles seem to have been continued under the auspices of such men as the Archbishops Dunstan and *Alfric*."—"The indirect evidence respecting Dunstan and *Alfric*," &c.—"There seems to be nothing of any great value in this MS. beyond the time of *Alfric*, whose death is recorded (after a considerable chasm) in 1005."—*Mr. Ingram's Preface*.

wearth Æthelweard cyninges heah-gerefa of-slegen, and Leofric æt Hwircan, and Leofwine cyninges heah-gerefa, and Wulfhere bisceopes Thegn and Godwine æt Weorthige, Ælfsiges bisceopes sunu; and ealra manna an and hund-eahtatig: And thær wearth thara Denisca micell ma of slegenra theah the hie wæl-stowe gewæld ahton. And foran tha thanon west oth thæt hie comon to defenan; and him thær to-geanes com Pallig mid tham scipan the he gegadrian mihte, fortham the he asceacen wæs fram Æthelrede cyninge ofer ealle tha getrywtha the he him geseald hæfde: and eac se cyninge him wel gyfod hæfde on hamon, and on golde and seolfre: and forbærndon Tegntun, and eac feala othra godra hama the we genemnan ne cunnon; and heom man syththan thær frith with-nam. And hie foran tha thonan to Exan muthan swa thæt hie asetton him up on ænne sith oth hie comon to Peonn-ho; and thær wæs Cola thæs cyninges heah-gerefa, and Eadsige thæs cyninges gerefa togeanes him mid thære fyrde the hie gegadrian mihton; and hie thær aflymede wurdon: and thær wearth feala of-slegenra, and tha Deniscan ahton wæl-stowe gewæld. And thæs on mergen forbærndon thone ham æt Peonn-ho, and æt Clistune, and eac feala godra hama the we genemnan na cunnan. And foran tha eft east ongear hie comon to Wiht; and thær, on mergen, forbærndon thone ham æt Wealt-ham, and othra cotlifa feala; and him mon rathe thæs with-thingode and hie namon frith.”\*

“ 1001. This year the peace of England was much disturbed by the pirates, who plundered

\* Here ends the MS. Otho, B. XI.

and burned in all parts; and thus they proceeded in one course until they came to Alton; and there the men of Hampshire met them, and fought with them. And the King's high sheriff, Ethelweard, was killed there, and Leofric of Whitchurch; and Leofwine, the King's high sheriff; and Wulfhere, the bishop's thane; and Godwin of Worthy, the son of Bishop Elfsy; and there fell 81 men in all: and many more were slain on the part of the Danes, although they kept possession of the field of battle. And thence they proceeded northward until they came into Devon; and there Pally joined them, with all the ships that he could collect; for he had deserted from King Ethelred after all the assurances of fidelity which he had given him, and although the King had been very bountiful to him in the gifts of houses, of gold, and of silver. And they burned Teynton, and many other good villages which we cannot name: and afterwards the people of that country made a treaty with them. And they departed thence to Exmouth, and so they went on in one course until they came to Penonho; [*Pin-hoo, Devon*, according to Mr. Ingram, and not *Pen*, near Gillingham, as Gibson;] and there Cola, the King's high sheriff,

and Eadsy, the King's sheriff, came against them with the troops which they had gathered together; but they were put to flight, and many were slain, and the Danes kept possession of the field of battle. And the next morning, they burned the villages of Pen [*Pin-hoo*] and of Clifton [*Clist*] and many good villages besides, which we cannot name. And then they proceeded eastward till they arrived at [the Isle of] Wight, and in the morning they there burned the village of Waltham, and many other hamlets; and the inhabitants soon treated with them and obtained peace."

The writer of 977 may have been an Abbingdon monk (as *Alfric* originally was). Are we to suppose, that *Alfric* wrote that year, and that he also wrote the year 1001 at *Winchester*? (wherewith he was certainly connected both in *Ethelwold's* time and *Elphegus's*.) This, I suppose, is part of the evidence Mr. Ingram refers to; but if this be all, it is very insufficient.

*Alfric* seems, from *Bridefert's* dedication of his *Life of Dunstan*, (cited by *Wharton*, p. 5,) to have been a good *Latin* scholar; and *this* is all that can be collected from such a whimsical piece.\*

\* *Perprudenti Domino Archonti Alfrico, Omnium*

We shall take leave of this MS. with the article 1023; the last it contains of any importance. Any gentleman of Cambridge may ascertain whether it be a cotemporary entry or

extimus Sacerdotum B. Vilisq. Saxonum Indigena," &c. "Te quidem, Pastor præcelse, ob enormitatem divulgatæ peritiæ propterq. magnificam et placidam privilegii dignitatem, ad insuperabilem mihi *tuitonem* ante cæteros quosq. quamvissint doctrinâ perspicui, excipiendam secer-  
nam." And lest my style should disgrace my subject, &c. "Primus, præ ceteris hujuscemodi dedecus patula protestatione tuæ serenitate profiteor; meq. adeo, more aligerorum, qui priusquàm profectionis vocem emittant, alarum plausibus flagellare videntur, propriis verborum verberibus, tuis provolutis genibus exoneraus affligo: eâtenus inquam, ut quicquid hac in editione contrâ orthographiæ normam, compositoris vitio, usurpatum reperiris, imperiali potentiâ abradere; ac plorante pinniculo profluentis encausti in melius, ab errore reformatum emendare præcipias."—"E prudentibus neminem, liberali eruditum ingenio propemodum pernoscis, qui tam deformi facundiâ in scribendis prologis, ut ego, videatur abuti. Has, tamen, sequentes paginulas, parvo capacitatis fomite utcumq. compositas, fidissima fidelium attestazione purgato, si qua propria temeritate effigiata insignia in his me conseruisse diffidas, nisi forte quæ vel videndo vel audiendo, licet intellectu torpente, ab ipso [Dunstano] didiceram, vel etiam ex ejus alumnis, quos a tenella juventutis ætate, ad viros usq. perfectos doctrinarum pabulis decenter instructos, ipse-met educando deduxit.

not. If it *be*, the name *Ælfsie* biscop was first written *Ælfric*.\*

In that case, the alteration was made by *Osborn*. If it was *first* written *Ælfsie*, I think *Osborn* wrote the whole article.†

“MXXIII. Her Cnut kyning binnan Lundene on S̅ce Paulæs Mynstre sealde fulle leafe *Æthelnoth* arcebiscope, and *Brihtwine* biscop, and eallon tham Godes theowum

Acceptes, obsecro, sola, septus, connexione caritatis, horum apicellorum tenuem congeriem, vix ebenina titulatione, styloq. fuscanti concretam, contra omnes inuisorios æmulos, invicta propugnatione tuendam, non favorio deditam ramusculo, sed tuæ specialiter sublimitati collatam. In hæc quippe literalī planitie, mentem magis spontaneam ambientis, quam agrestem componentis ignaviam explorari deosco.—*Teq.* sine tuæ offensionis molestiā, moneo, TANTI PATRIS *virtutibus* informari; *exemplis* ejus instrui: *moribus* muniri; *disciplinis* justificari; ut cujus extitisse successor in terris, ejus merearis perennis esse consessor in cælis, largiente Domino N. I. C. qui, cum Coeterno Patre, Sanctoq. Spiritu vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula Seculorum. Amen.—*Acta Sanctorum* (Jesuits') *fol. Antw.* 1685. *tom.* 4. 346.

\* I cannot doubt that this was *Elfric*. Archbishop Wulstan died *Tuesday, 28th May*, and Elphegus' body was taken up on the Saturday week following, *8th June*. Between these days our abbot was named to Worcester and York.

† The whole article is also in *Tiberius, B. IV.*

the heom-mid wæron that hi moston nyman up of tham byrgene thone arcebiscop Sce Ælfheah; and hi tha swa dydon on *VI idus Iunii*. And se *brema cyng* and se *arcebiscop* and *leod-biscopas* and *eorlas* and swythe manega *hadode* and eac *lawede* feredon on scyre his thone haligan lichaman ofer Temese to Suth-ge-weorke: and thær thone halgan Martyr than *arcebiscop* and his *geferum betæhton*: and hi tha mid weorthlican weorode and wynsaman dreame hine to Hrofceastre feredon. Tha on tham thrid-dan dæge com Imma seo hlæfdie mid hire cynelican bearne Hearda-Cnute: and hi tha ealle mid miclam thrymme and blisse and lof-sange thone halgan arcebiscop into Cantware-byri feredon; and swa wurthlice into cyrcan brohton on *III idus Iun.*—Eft *syththan* on tham eahteothan dæge on *XVII. kl. Iul.*, *Æthelnoth* arcebiscop and *Ælfsie* biscop and Bryhtwine biscop and ealle tha the mid heom wæron ge-logudon sce Ælfeages halgan lichaman on north healfe Xpes weafodes Gode-to-lofe, and tham halgan arcebiscope to-wurthmynte; and eallon tham to ecere hælthe the his halgan lichaman thær, mid estfulre heortan and mid ealre eadmodnysse dæghwamlice seccath.—God Almihtig gemiltse eallum cristenum mannum thurh Ælfeages halgan ge-gearnunga.”

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With regard to the authors of the *Canterbury Annals*, or *first part* of the printed chronicle, I acknowledge my deficiency: in discussing the *remaining (and the most valuable)* parts, I have succeeded better.

It has been a hard question with me, whether the *different readings* should be inserted between one copy and another, *essentially duplicates*, but I conclude they would never be read in a book like this, or be read to the reader's annoyance, and have therefore struck out the whole mass of such notes *as useless*.

Mr. Ingram has taken the pains to collect such *differences*; and, perhaps, this volume may serve for an index to his.

I propose, then, to *leave* the other copies *as duplicates*, (which in effect they are, *except* some little original matter in the *Tiberius*, *B. I.*) and to notice none but the *Tiberius*, *B. IV.* and the *Oxford copy* LAUD. From the former of which, we extract *Elfric's Annals*, and also *Wulstan's*, (as far as it goes). From the *Laud* we complete *Wulstan's*; and give those of *Nicholas*, *Athelwold*, and a part of *Remaldus*', and *Hugo's*.



1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the data collection process, from identifying sources to gathering information, and the subsequent analysis techniques used to interpret the results.

3. The third part provides a comprehensive overview of the findings and conclusions drawn from the data analysis. It highlights key trends, patterns, and insights that emerged from the study, and discusses their implications for the organization's future strategy and decision-making.

4. The final part of the document offers recommendations and suggestions for improving the organization's performance based on the findings. It includes specific action items and a timeline for implementation, as well as a discussion of the potential challenges and risks associated with these recommendations.

# **A P P E N D I X.**

**No. I.**



## APPENDIX.

### No. I.

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Page 24. *Rei non leve pondus accedit ex cognomento Elfrici, Archiepiscopi Eboraci, qui, ab aliis, Putta; a Flor. Wigorn.; Puttoc, appellatur.*

Page 67. *The Colloquy beginning We cildra biddath, &c.*

Page 133. *Elfric Bata—to dispossess God's church.*

OUR *Elfric* was doubtless distinguished by some cognomen from others of the same name; but whether it was *Putta*, *Bata*, or *Wittic*, seems uncertain. It might be *Putta*, and insignificant.

*Henschenius* and *Papebrochius*, two Jesuits, in their Collection of *Acts*, &c, (fol. Antw. 1685) have also published *Osbern's* Life of *Dunstan* from three ancient copies; one, their own; another, belonging to the monks of St. Mary of Bonifons; and the third amongst the

*Bodecensian MSS. in Westphalia.* In their edition, Elfric is called *Elfricus Beta*.

From the use Osbern makes of Elfric's name, he clearly intends *here*, no other than *our* Elfric ; which it seems Elfricus *Bata*, or *Beta*, is *not*.

We are taught in Hickes' Thesaurus (I. 104) that there was an *Elfricus Bata*, a *disciple* of the *Abbot Elfric*, and a very inferior man. *Hickes'* account occurs in his List of Saxon MSS. in the inner library of John Baptist Coll. Oxford.

"Arch. III. No. 2. Codex membranaceus antiquus et bonæ notæ : in quarto. \* \* \* \*

"3. Colloquium latinum, in usum puerorum conscriptum ; cui, (finito Glossario superiori,) præmittitur hoc Tetrastichon misellum,

Denique composuit pueris hoc stylum rite diversum  
Qui Bata Ælfricus, monachus brevissimus :  
*Qualiter* Scholastici valeant resumere fandi  
Aliquod initium Latinitatis sibi.

*Dialogus,*

autem, sic

*Incipit.* Surge, frater mi, de tuo lectuo ; quia tempus  
est nunc nobis surgendi :

*Explicit.* Explicit hic sermo latinus, *calce* quiescens.  
A Batâ Ælfrico, dispositum, monacho.

4. ADHUC, EGO, BATA, DIFFICILIOREM  
SENTENTIAM ADDO.

- Incipit.* O grate puer! sterne meum gausape; quia  
non habemus mappam, nisi in Festivitatibus.  
*Explicit.* Allubescence uranico Basileo; qui viget et  
Dominator, per immortalia sæcula.

5. HANC SENTENTIAM LATINI SERMONIS  
OLIM ÆLFRICUS ABBAS COMPOSUIT; QUI  
MEUS FUIT MAGISTER: SED TAMEN EGO,  
ÆLFRIC BATA, MULTAS, POSTEA, HUIC  
ADDIDI APPENDICES.

- Incipit.* *We cildra biddath the eala Lareow that*  
Nos, pueri, rogamus te, Magister; obnixè ut  
*thu tæce us sprecau*  
doceas nos loqui latinaliter recte.  
*Explicit.* Satis est, *hæc*, locutum: et hic sermo sufficiat  
nobis. *Amen.*

6. Sequitur, manu recentiori, pars altera (ut  
videtur) superioris Colloquii; vel saltem, *aliud*,  
ejusdem farinæ; latinè, cum interlineari ver-  
sione saxonica.

- Incipit.* O Clerici ne dempseris unquam *wex bredu*  
*fram sidam fleag ealdor slidendes plegan.*  
lateri fugias fore corcula labentis ludi.  
*Explicit.* *feoh that steme spic-hus swetnysse.*  
Nec absitq. *lucar quo flagret lar nectar tibi;*  
esto memor tui gallonis.

There is a copy of the colloquy, No. 5, in  
Cotton's Library, (Tiberius A. III. fol. 58.)  
under the title *Colloquium* (&c.) *ab Ælfrico*

*primum compilatum ; et deinde ab Ælfrico Bata, ejus discipulo, auctum : post hæc, fortasse, desunt quædam.*

There is a great deal of it ; and perhaps this copy wants no more than the above *explicit*. I do not suppose that *Bata* had much to do with it : and if he had, his *additions* have not improved it : it was clearly a hasty, off-hand performance, for use under Elfric's own eye.

The *scene* bears strong marks of Peterborough ; and since it has never been published, the greater part of it is inserted *here*. I have omitted the Latin, and restored the Saxon words to their proper places, as far as I could, because they are fitted to the Latin *à la Hamilton*.

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*C.* We cildra biddath the, Eala Lareow !  
thæt thu tæce us sprecan ; fortham un-ge-  
lærede we syndon and ge-wæm modlice we  
sprecath.

*P.* Hwæt wille ge sprecan ?

*C.* Hwæt recce we hwæt we sprecan, buton  
hit riht spræc sý and behefe ; næs ivel oththe  
fracod.

*P.* Wille ge beon bespungen on leornunge ?

*C.* Leofre ys us beon bespungen for lære

thænne hit ne cunnan ; ac we witan the bile-witne wesan ; and nellan on-be-lædon swincgla us, buton thu be to ge-nydd fram us.

*P.* Ic axie the Hwæt weorces hæfst thu ?

*C.* Ic eom gean-fyrde monuc, and Ic singe ælce dæg seofon tida mid se brothrum ; and ic eom bysgod \* \* \* and on sange ; ac theah-hwæthere ic wolde betwenan leornian spreca on leden ge-weorde.

*P.* Hwæt cuman *thas*, thine geferan ?

*C.* Sume sýnd ýrthlincgas, sume scep-hýrdas, sume oxan-hýrdas ; sume eac swýlce huntan : sume fisceras, sume fugeleras, sume cyp-menn, sume sceo-wýrhtas, sume sealteras, sume bæce-ras, [&c.]

*P.* Hwæt sægest thu Yrthlinge ? Hu be-geist thu thin weorce.

*Y.* Eala leof hlaford ! Thearle ic deorfe ! Ic ga ut on dæg-ræd thywende oxon to felda, and iugie hig to sýl ; nýs hit swa stearc winter thæt ic durste lutian æt ham for mines hlafordes ege. Ac ge-iukodan oxan, and ge-fæsnodon sceare and cultre mit thære sýl, ælce dæg ic sceal erian fulre æther oththe mare.

*P.* Hæfst thu ænige geferan ?

*Y.* Ic hæbbe sumre cnafan thywende oxan mid gadisene ; the eac swilce nu *has* ýs for cýlde (&c.)

*P.* Hwæt mare dest thu on dæg ?



*Y.* Gewyslice ; thænne ic do mare ! Ic sceal fyllan binnan oxan mid hig, (&c. &c.). Hig ! hig ! micel ge-deorf ýs hit, geleof ; micel ge-deorf hit ýs ; fortham ic neom freoh,

*P.* Sceap-hyrde ! Hæfst thu ænig gedeorf ?

*S.* Gea, leof ; ic hæbbe. On forewerdne morgen ic drife mine sceap to heora læse ; and stand ofer hig on hæte and on cýlde mid hundun the læs wulfas for-swelgen hig ; and ic agen læde hig to heora loca, and melke hig twegena on dæg ; and heora loca ic hæbbe on thær-to ; and ic do cýse and buteran ; and Ic eom minon hlaforde getrýwe.

*P.* Eala oxan-hyrde ! Hwæt wyrcest thu ?

*C.* Eala min hlaford, micel ic gedeorfe. Thanne se ýrthlinge unscent tha oxan Ic læde hig to læse ; and ealle niht ic stande ofer hig waciende for theofan ; and eft on ærne morgen ic betæce hig tham yrthlinge wel-gefylde and ge-wæterode.

*P.* Sy thæs of thinum geferum ? [to the first boy.]

*C.* Gea, he ýs.

*P.* Canst *thu* ænig thing ? [to the huntsman.]

*H.* Ic cann cenne cræft ; hwýlce ýs ic eom hunta.

*P.* Hwæs cinges ? \* \* Hu be-geist thu thine cræft ?

*H.* Ic bræde me max, and sette hig on stowe;  
 \* \* and getihtē mine hundas thæt hig ehton  
 wil-deor, oththe the hig cuman to than nettan  
 unforsceowodlice thæt hig swa beon be-grýnode;  
 and ic of-sleah on tham maxum.

*P.* Ne canst thu huntian buton mid nettum?

*H.* Gea; Ic mæg huntian buton nettum.

*P.* Hu?

*H.* Ic be-tæce wildeor mid swiftum hundum.

*P.* Hwýlce wildeor swythoft gefehst thu?

*H.* Ic gefeo heortas, and baras, and rænn,  
 and rægan; and hwylon haran.

*P.* Wære thu to-dæg on huntunge?

*H.* Ic næs; forthan ýs sunnan dæg; ac  
 ic wæs on huntunge gyrstan-dæg.

*P.* Hwæt ge-læhtest thu?

*H.* Twegen heortas and ænne bar.

*P.* Hu ge-fenge thu hig?

*H.* Heortas ic gefenge on nettum, and bar ic  
 of-sloh.

*P.* Hu wæres thu dirstig of-stikian bar?

*H.* Hundas bedrifon hyne to me, and ic  
 standende thær-to-geanes, færllice of-stikcode  
 hyne.

*P.* Swýthe thryste thu wære tha!

*H.* Ne sceal hunta forlitfull wesan, forthan  
 mislice wildeor wuniath on wudum.

*P.* Hwæt dest thu be thinre huntunge?

*H.* Ic sylle cýng swa-hwæt-swa ic ge-fo, for-  
tham ic eom hys hunta.

*P.* Hwæt sylth he the?

*H.* He scryt me wel and fett; and hwylon sylth  
me hors; oththe beah; thæt ic beganoge the lus-  
tecor minne cræft.

*P.* Hwælcne cræft canst thou?

*F.* Ic eom fiscere.

*P.* Hwæt be-gyst thou of thinum cræfte?

*F.* Bigleofan, and scrud, and feoh.

*P.* Hu gefehst thou fixas?

*F.* Ic astigie min scyp and wyrpe min max  
on ea, [&c. &c.]

*P.* Hwæt gif thine fixas beoþh un-clæne?

*F.* Ic ut-wyrpe tha unclænan ut, and ge-nime  
me clæne to mete.

*P.* Hwær cypst thou thine fixas?

*F.* On Ceastre.

*P.* Hwa bigth?

*F.* Hi Ceasterwara. Ic ne mæg swa fela  
gefon swa ic mæg gesyllan.

*P.* Hwilce fixas gefehst thou?

*F.* Ælas, and Hacodas; Mynas, and Ælepu-  
tan; Sceotan, and Lampredan; and swa-wylce-  
swa on wætere swymmath.

*P.* For-hwi ne fixast thou on sæ?

*F.* Hwylon ic do; ac seldon, fortham micel  
rewyt me ys to sæ.

*P.* Hwæt fehst thu on sæ.

*F.* Hæringas, and Leaxas, Mere-swyn, and Stirian, Ostran and Crabban, Mualan, Pinewin-clan, Sæ-coccas, Fage, and Floe, and Lopistrian, and fela swylces.

*P.* Wilt thu fon sumre hwæl?

*F.* Nic.

*P.* For-hwi?

*F.* For hwan thinge hit ys gefon hwæl. Leofre ys me faran to ea mid mynan scype, thænne faran mid manegum scypum on huntunge hrænas.

*P.* For-hwi swa?

*F.* Fortham leofre ys me ge-fon fisc thæne ic mæg of-slean, the nathan *me*, *ac ean swylce mine geferan* mid anum slege he mæg be-sean-cean oththe gecwylman.

*P.* And theab, mænige ge-foth hwælas, and æt-berstath frecnese; and mycelre soeat thanon be-gytath.

*F.* Soth thu segst; ac ic ne ge-thristige for mines modes nytenysse.

*P.* Hwæt sægst thu, Fugelere? Hu beswicst thu fugelas?

*Fug.* On feala wisan. Ic beswice fugelas hwylon mid nettan; mid grinum; mid lime; mid hwystlinge; mid hafaçe; mid treppan.

*P.* Hæfst thu hafaçe?

*F.* Ic hæbbe.

*P.* Canst thou temian hig?

*F.* Gea; Ic cann; Hwæt sceol hig don me butan ic cuthe temian hig.

*P.* Sylle me ænne hafoc.

*F.* Ic sylle lustlice gif thu sylst me ænne swiftne hund. Hwyllice hafoc wilt thou habbanthone maran, oththe thæne læssan?

*P.* Sylle me thæne maran. Hu afest thou thine hafocas?

*F.* Hig fedath *hig-sylfe* and *me* on wintra; and on lengten ic læte hig æt windan on wuda; and ge-nyme me briddas on hærfæste, and temige hig.

*P.* And for-ghi for-lætst thou tha ge-temedon æt windan fram the?

*F.* Fortham ic nelle fedan hig on sumera fortham the hig wearle etath.

*P.* And manige fedath tha ge-temedon ofer sumor thæt eft hig habban ge-aruwe.

*F.* Gea; swa hig doth. Ac ic nelle thætan deorfan ofer hig, fortham ic canne othre gefon, na thæt *ænne*, ac eac *swilce manige*.

[*P.* Hwæt sægst thou, Mancgere?\*

*Manc.* Ic secge thæt ic eom be-hefe ge cinge and eoldermannum, and welgum, and eallum folce.

*P.* And hu?

\* The sections within brackets may be some of *Elfric Bata's* additions, (if there was such a person).

*M.* Ic astigie min scype mid min hlæstum and rowe ofer fælice vælas; and cype mine thinge, and buge thinge dyrwyrde tha on thisum lande ne beoth accennede, and ic hig to gelædde eow hider ofer sæ mid micclan plihthe; and hwylon ic bolic for-lidenesse; mid lyre ealra minra thinga, &c. &c.

*P.* Hwilce thinge lædst thou us?

*M.* Pællas and sidan, deorwyrpe gymmas and gold, selcuthe reaf, and wyrtege mange, win and ele, ylpesban, and mæstlinge, ær and tin, swæfel, and glæs, and fela thilces.

*P.* Wilt thou syllan her, thine thinge eal-swa thou hi ge-bohtest thær?

*M.* Ic nelle; Hwæt thænne me fremode min ge-deorf? Ac ic wille cypen her luflicor thonne ic bicge thær, thæt ic me begite sum ge-streom than ic me afede and min wif, and minne sunu.

*P.* Thu, Sceowyrhta! Hwæt wyrcest thou us, &c?

\* \* \* \* \*

*S.* Ic bicge hyda and fell, and wyrce of hige scy, mislices cynnes; swyftleras, and sceos, lederhosa, and butericas, bridel-thwancgas, and ge-rada, and fætelsas; and nan eower nelle ofer wintran butan minon cræfte.

*P.* Sealtera; Hwæt fremath us thin cræfte?

*Sealt.* Thealre min cræft fremath eow eallum;

nan eower blisse brycth, &c. &c. Then comes the Baker, and next the Cook.]

C. Gif ge me ut adrifath fram eowrum geferscýpe, ge etath eowre wýrta grene; and eowre flæse mettas, hreawe, (&c.)

P. We ne reccath; ne he us ys nead-thearf. Fortham we sýlfe magon seothan tha thinge the to-seothenne sýnd; and brædan tha thinge the to-brædene synd.

C. Gif ge, forthý, me fram adryfath, thæt ge thus don thonne beo ge ealle thrælas, and nan eower ne bith hlaforð; and theah-hwerthere ge ne etath butan minne cræfte.\*

\* I have omitted, for brevity's sake, the full examination of the *Salter*, who boasts that without *salt* there is no pleasure in *dinner* or *supper*; and not even in *herbs*. "*Hwa ge-fylth ge clefan oththe hedderne (cellar or larder) without my assistance? The Baker* says neither men nor children can live *butan hlafē* (without bread).

The child tells the master that he has amongst his friends, *Smiths, Iron-smiths, Gold-smiths, Silver-smiths, Braziers (ar-smithas), Carpenters, &c.* and many others: and even a *Manager, Wise Ge-theahta*. [Hu mihte we *ge-gaderunge* beon wissod butan se *Theahtynde?*]

The *Carpenter* reproves the *Smith* for his boasting; and thus boasts in his turn: *I make your houses and many of your household vessels, and all your ships.* And then again the *Smith*: Stay, stay, *Mr. Carpenter*, ne furthron an thyrl thu ne mihte don; without my help, you cannot bore a hole, &c.

*P.* Wisa! Hwile cræft the ge-thuht furthra wean betwux thas?

*W.* Me ys gethuht Godes theowdom healdan ealdor-scype betweoh thas cræftas. Swa swa hit ge-ræd on godspelle, "Fyrmest, seceath Godes rice and hys rihtwisnesse; and ealle thas thinge beoth eow to ge-hyhte."

*P.* And hwile the gethuht heoldan ealderdom betwix woruld-cræftas?

*W.* Eorht tilth; fortham se yrthling us ealle fett.

[*Smith.* Hwanon hæfth se yrthling *sylan-scar* oththe *culter*, the, na *gade*, buton of minon cræfte? Hwanon fiscere, *angel*, oththe sceo-wyrhtan, *æl*; oththe seamere, *niedl*; nis hit of minon cræfte?

*P.* Soth, witodlice, sægst. Ac leofre ys eallum us wikian mid se yrthlinge thonne mid the. Se yrthling sylth us hlaf and drenc. Hwæt sylst Thu us on thinre smiththan buton irenne fyr-swearcan, and sweginega beatendra slecgea, and blawendra byliga?

\* \* \* \* \*

*P.* Eala geferan, gode wyrhtan, sy sibb and gethwærnyss be-tweoh us: and ge-hwilcūm urum framige othron on his cræft; and ge-dwærian symble mid tham yrthlinge, thær we us habbath bicleofan; and urum horsum foddor. And ic sylle eallum wyrhtum this



ge-thuht thæt anra ge-hwylc geornlice begange his cræft; forþam se the his cræft forlæt, *he* byth forlæten fram tham cræfte. Swa hwæther thu sý, swa mæsse-preost, swa monuc, swa ceorl, &c. And *beo* THÆT *thu eart*; forþam hyt ys micel bynd and sceamu man nelle wesán *thæt he ys*, and *thæt* the he *wesán sceal*.

[Eala cild! Hu licath eow theos spæc.

C. Wel heo licath us, and sprycst thearle deoplice, and ofer ure mæthe (&c.). Ac sprec us æfter urum andgyte; thæt we magon understandan tha thinge the thu spræcest.]

P. Ac, absige eow for-hwi swa geornlice \* \* leorninge?

C. Forþam we nellath wesán swa stunte nytern tha nanthing witath buton gierd and water?

P. And hwæt wille ge?

C. Willath wesán wise.

P. On hwilcon wisdomes?—Wille-ge beon frættige oththe thusent luwe; lytige on leasungum, onglæwlice on spræcum; wel-sprecende and yfele-thencende; swæsum werdum under-theodde, fan withinnan tyddriende. Swa swa ys berg,—meccon ofer ge-weorke; stenc-full withinnan?

C. We nellath swa wesán wise, forþam he nys wise the mid didrunge beswicth hynesylfne.

*P.* Ac hu wille ge.

*C.* We willath beon bylewite, buton lice-tunge; and wise thæt the bugon fram yfele and don goda:—Gyt, theah-hwæthere, thu mægst deoplicor mid us thonne ure yld mæge on-fon. Ac spræc us æfter uron ge-wunon, næs swa deoplice.

*P.* And ic do, eal-swa ge biddath. Hwæt dydest dæg, *cnafa*?

*C.* Ic dyde manega thing on thisse niht. Tha tha ic gehyrde cnyll ic aras on minon bedde; and eode to *cyrcean*, and sang *uht-sang* mid ge brothrum: æfter tha we sungon *be eallum halgum*; and *dæg-redlice lof-sanges*: æfter thisum, *prim*, and *seofon sealmas*; into *letanian* and *capital mæssan*;—sithan *under-tyde*, and dydon *mæssan be-dæge*; æfter thisum we sungon *mid-dæg*; and *etan* and *druncon*, and *slepon*; and *eft*, we arison and sungon *non*; and nu we synd her æt foran the, gearwe ge-hyran hwæt thu us secge.

*P.* Hwænne wylle ge singan *æfen* oththe *niht sange*?

*C.* Thone hyt byth time.

*P.* Wære thu *be-spuncgen* to-dæg?

*C.* Ic næs; fortham ic me heold werlice.

*P.* And hu thine geferan?

*C.* Hwæt me ahsake be tham? Ic ne deor

uppan *the* ure vigla; *anra. gehwoylc wat* gif he wæs bespungen oththe na.

*P.* Hwæt ytst thu on dæg?

*C.* Ic bruce flæsc mettam gyt; fortham ic eom cild, drohtniende under gyrda.

*P.* Hwæt ytst thu mare?

*C.* Ic ete wyrta and ægra; fisc and cyse; buteran, and beona; and ealle clæne thinge; mid micelre thancunge.

*P.* Thu eart swythe wax georn, thonne thu etst ealle thinge the the to-foran.

*C.* Ic ne eom *swa micel swelgere* thæt ic mæge etan ealle cynn metta on anre ge-reordinge.

*P.* Ac hu?

*C.* Ic bruce hwilon *thisum* mettum, hwilon *otherum*, mid syfernysse, swa swa munece daf nath, næs mid ofer hrowse, fortham ic eom nan glute.

*P.* And hwæt drincst thu?

*C.* Eala, gif ic hæbbe; oththe wætere, gif ic na hæbbe ealum.

*P.* Ne drincst win?

*C.* Ic ne eom swa swedig thæt ic mæge bigean me win; and win nys *cildra* drenc ne *dystra*; ac *ealdra*, and *wisra*.

*P.* Hwær slæpst?

*C.* On Slæperu mid ge-brothrum.

*P.* Hwa aweeth the to uht-sancge?

*C.* *Hwilon* ic ge-hyre cnyll, and ic rise; *hwylon* min lareow aweeth me—stithlice mid gyrde.

*P.* Eala ge cildra and wynsume leorneras eower lareow manath eow thæt ge hyrsumian (&c.) and thæt ge healdath eow-sylfe *ænlice* on ælcere stowe;—and gath, *theawlice*, thonne ge ge-hyran cyrcean bellan; and gath in to cyrcean; and abugath *eadmodlice* to halgum weafodum; and standath *theawlice*, and singath *an-modlice*, and ge biddath for eowrum synnum; and gath ut-*butan hygeleaste-to claustre*, oththe to *leorninge*.

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Page 62. *There must have been an account of the abbotcies of Elfric and Kinsinus, in the Peterborough Records, amongst the rest. They were cut away, &c.*

But this was not effectually done with regard to *Elfric*, as we are about to shew.

Before we proceed, however, it is worth while to listen to the testimony of our critics in favour of Hugo; and we shall be able to

make a few observations thereon, which are due both to *Elfric* and *himself*. The best parts of his book are clearly traceable to *Elfric*.

“ *Hugo Albus*, jam annis maturus, vitæ studebat solitariæ ; unde et in *Benedicti* verba juravit : ita tamen, ut, eâdem operâ, non modo *religionem*, verum etiam pro consuetudine quâdam suâ *eruditionem* mediis amplecteretur ulnis. Tam utile, honestum, ac undecumque sanctum, invigilantis animi studium-*fructus*, et quidem *uberrimos*, produxit. \* \* \*

“ *Unum* erat, quod *Hugonem*, præter cetera, detinuit, juvabat, delectabat ; nempe rerum memorabilium et antiquitatis exquisita cognitio ; quam ut, aliquando, consequeretur *nullum*, prorsus, diligentiae *locum* reliquit. At erat, interim, cura hæc præcipua, ut historiam Petroburgensis ecclesiæ, nutricis suæ charissima, gratus perdisceret alumnus. Hinc elaborata quadam industriâ, omnia diplomata a Merciorum regibus, tum aliis nobilibus Petriburgensibus, collata conquisivit ; et quicquid præterea chartaceæ suppellectilis in forulis delituit, propensa excusit industria. Tam vero, ut herba excrescens fructum opportunè produceret suum, originem sui Cænobii, successos felicissimos, ac tandem fortunæ per Danos crudelissimos (&c.) vicissitudinem accuratâ perscripsit diligentia. Nec minori cura in reparato per *Ethehooldum* episcopum, et *Adulfum* Edgari regis archigrammateum, monasterio usus est. In quo opere tam multa de primitivâ Merciorum ecclesiâ, a Bedâ, (alioqui tum docto, tum diligenti) prorsus intacta, ac præterea de Cænobiis ex Pe-

troburgo enascentibus, collecta inseruit, ut merite sacrosanctæ antiquitatis Thesaurus esse videatur," &c.

LELAND.

"*Hugo Candidus*, vulgo Anglorum *White*, natione *Anglus*, (&c.) Vir pietatis et doctrinæ nomine non incelebris, licet pauca admodum, quantum invenire hæcenus potui, in lucem emisit scripta, tamen inter eos numerari solet, qui perscrutandis rerum memorabilium antiquitatibus utilem operam navarunt, et historiam gentis nostræ continuo cursu connexam conservaverunt. Teste Joanne Lelando fuit rerum gestarum sui præsertim Cœnobii luculentus Scriptor, cujus historiam elaboratissima diligentia perstrinxit, &c. Ubi etiam tam vigili oculo primitivam Merciorum ecclesiam inspexit ut multa annotaverat quæ ipsius Venerabilis Bedæ diligentiam evaserant."—PITTS.

"*Hugo Candidus* historiam Petriburgensem diligenter collegit."—JOSSELING.

"*Hugo Candidus*, alias *Whyte*, juvenis adhuc, Petroburgi, in Benedictinæ professionis verba juravit," &c.

"Bonis, certe, et prudentibus grata semper debebat esse eorum diligentia, qui, quoad potuerunt, studia conferrebant ad historiæ conservationem, licet recta, *dissona*, ac vera, *frivolis*, interdum, admiscuerint. Ex eorum numero *presens author* habent unus in eo exercitio *percelebris artifex*; *Historicus* nempe *eximius*. Nullum prorsus diligentia reliquit hic locum, ut non aliquando consequeretur rerum memorabilium, et antiquitatis exquisitam cognitionem," &c.—BALE.

“ *Hugo Candidus*, alias *White*, *Anglus* ; ordinis Benedictini in monasterio Petroburgensi. Scripsit historiam Petroburgensem : in qua de monasterii sui origine, variâque fortunâ, accuratè tractat : sane luculentus rerum gestarum scriptor vocatur à Jo. Lelando.” &c.

G. J. VOSSRUS.

I suppose the best historians of our day would be satisfied with praise like this : it appears, in what has been already extracted from his history, that Hugo was grossly *ignorant* and *absurd* ; but there is yet an instance behind hardly to be equalled ; he seems, indeed, to have been destitute of every *proper* merit—even sincerity might be denied him without much injustice.

The fact is, that his book, with all its faults, is of value ; because it contains a considerable treasure of knowledge stolen from Elfric. This knowledge is mixed up with a great deal of falsehood, but the truth may be distinguished. Indeed, *Hugo's* is hardly a *disguise* ;—*Elfric's* Saxon is visible enough in *his* Latin : it is *Elfric* in chains.

Surely Hugo's *usurped reputation* involves a noble commendation of Elfric : if any writing manifestly abound with folly, but the writer is *pardoned* (only) in favour of some better part of

the performance, the indulgence would be very creditable to the true author of that better part.

This is such a case: with the addition, that Hugo's flagrant defects are overlooked, and by common consent he is lauded to the skies. And yet his book is written without modesty or judgment.

It has been observed in page 5, that Hugo's history contains large extracts from *Elfric's* life of *Ethelwold*. He *seems*, however, to admit that *these* are not his own.\*

What there is of *truth* in *Remaldus's* early *interpolations* seems to be *Elfric's*: and so voluminous a writer must have left much other valuable history, which was sacrificed in aid of the system before-mentioned. Certainly, what follows is either *his* or relates to him, and much besides, which Hugo has retained and assigns to *Elsinus*. In particular, the Catalogue of *Relics* with which he enriched the church, (and which is published in Gunton,) and the character of *Kenulfus*, inserted in p. 64.

In diebus tamen Elfsini cum esset ultra mare cum regina, multæ terræ ablatae sunt ab ecclesiâ; sicut *Hovedene* in provincia *Everwic*, et *Barwe*, et multæ aliæ quas nomi-

\* I confess I was slow to believe Hugo *so unworthy*.



narem, si aliquid prodesset; nimium enim tributum Angli dabant Danorum exercitui, qui in tempore *Ethelredi* regis et *Eadmundi* pene per quadraginta annos prædabant et devastabant et ardebant, et nimis affligebant totam Angliam sicut scripta testantur, donec *Sucin*, sive *Cnut*, filius ejus, ex eorum progenie exaltati sunt in regnum. Semper enim dabant et augebant tributum usque LXXII millia librarum et eo amplius per annum, et sine hoc quod de Lundoniâ dabatur XI millia librarum, et nihil aut parum eis profuit, semper enim omnia mala agere non cessabant. Tunc qui *habuerunt* ad tantum tributum solvendum *dabant*, qui *non habuerunt* terras et possessiones et alias res inrecuperabiliter perdiderunt. Unde factum est ut *ecclesia ista*, et *multæ aliæ multa* perdiderunt.

In diebus quoque *illius* Monachi Ramisienses pro quadam causâ nimis accusati sunt apud regem ita ut, coram eo, Monasterium destruendum adjudicatum sit. Rex autem iratus nimium jussit impleri judicium prædictum. At Abbas Burgi *Elfsius*, in Domino confisus, qui opportune et importune sicut in privilegiis suis scriptum repererat; et exemplo *Sarulfi*, et *Etheholdî*, et *aliorum*, consiliis regis intererat, et quia sapiens erat; *primitus*, se ad Dominum contulit, *postea* et reginam exoravit, ut secum pro tanto monasterio regem intercederet: *que* mox annuit. &c. A sententia eum permutavit, dicens "*non esse justum pro culpa unius vel duorum, tale monasterium, et tantos patres perire, cum non essent consentanei.*" Et "*se deprecari*, ut sibi, et Elfsino Abbati, amico suo, *qui multum ei servierat*, illud condonaret." Quod rex libentissimè annuit. *Ea* tamen *conditione*, ut ipse Elfsinus, propria gubernatione illud regeret; et *quemcumque vellet* ex suis monachis, *abbatem* ibi constitueret. Sed ille amicitiam quam inceperat, vicinis suis servans, (simul et implens quod scriptum est, *Quod tibi non vis fieri, ALTERI*

*non feceris*,) abbatem illis *ex propriâ congregatione* constituit; *libertatemque* in perpetuum donavit.

Then (after an account of the translation of Saints *Kyneburga* and *Kyneswitha* [de Ecclesiâ *Kyneburgensis, Castri*,] and of Saint *Tibba* from *Ryhale*,) there follows a chapter under this title—

“Genealogia quorundam Sanctorum et Sanctarum in Angliâ quiescentium :”

beginning thus :—

“Adhuc etiam placuit ut de Sanctis qui in Anglia requiescunt, pauca dicamus. Sanctus Augustinus baptizavit Ethelbrithum Cantuariorum regem et totum populum ejus,—Nam Berta ejus regina—Francorum regis filia ad eum venerat Christiana. Habueruntque filiam Edbaldum et filiam Ethelburgam, quam desponsavit Edwino regi Northanhumbro- rum quem sanctus Paulinus, qui cum illa venerat convertit et baptizavit. Postea vero mortuo Edwino reversa est cum Paulino ad Edbaldum, qui tunc Cantuariorum rex erat; deditque ei memoratus villam maximam Lininge cum omnibus adjacentibus: construxitque ibi monasterium, ibique modo requiescit, et sancta Edburga cum eâ.” &c.

And ending thus:—

“Sancta vero Sexburga regina Erconbrithi construxit monasterium Sanctæ Mariæ in Scepege, eumque, *cum Lothero filiô* honorifice ditavit. Ipsaque sancta *Sexburga*, et sancta *Etheldritha*, et beata *Withburga* filiæ erant *Annæ*, regis orientalium anglorum. Desponsata est vero beata

Etheldritha Egfrido regi Northanhunbrorum, et tamen in virginitate usque ad finem permansit. Filia autem Sexburgæ Ermenilda desponsata erat *Wlfero* regi, et ex eis nata est sancta Wereburga, quæ nunc requiescit in Legecestre.

Nunc autem ubi requiescunt vel ipsi vel alii adhuc pauca dicamus. Sanctus *Augustinus* qui christianam fidem genti Anglorum prædicavit ipse requiescit in ecclesia sancti Petri in *Cantuarebyri*, cum episcopis sanctis *Laurentio*, *Maellito*, *Justo*, *Honorio*, *Deusdedit*, *Theodoro*, *Brithwaldo*, *Tatwyno*, *Nothemo*, et *Leodardo*, (qui cum *Bertha*, regina venerat); et *Adriano*, abbate, et cum sancta *Mildritha* virgine.

In ecclesia Christi infra muros requiescunt Sancti Archiepiscopi *Dunstanus*, *Odo*, *Ethelgarus*, et *Elphegus*.

In *Rovecestre* requiescit sanctus *Paulinus*, qui archiepiscopus in *Everwyc* primus erat.

In *Lundonia* sanctus *Sebbi* rex, et sanctus *Ercomwaldus*, et sanctus *Theodredus* episcopus.

In *Glestringburi*, sanctus *Patricius* episcopus et sanctus, et sanctus *Selfridus* ejusdem loci abbas.

In *Abbandun* sanctus *Vincentius* martyr.

Et sanctus *Albanus* in monasterio suo.

In *Wynecestre*; in veteri monasterio, sanctus *Suythamus*, et sanctus *Ethelwoldus*, et sanctus *Birinus*, et sanctus *Hedda*, et sanctus *Birstanus*; Episcopi: et sanctus *Justus* martyr.—Et in novo monasterio, sanctus *Grymbaldus*, presbyter, et sanctus *Judocus*, confessor.—Et in *Nunnaminster* sancta *Æthelburga*.

In *Ham tune* sanctus *Ragaher* rex.

In *Bredun* sanctus *Ældulfus* rex; et *Monuchi* cum eo, sanctus *Cotta*, et sanctus *Benna*, et sanctus *Prethericus*.

In *Barduneya* sanctus *Oswaldus* rex.

In *Tinemuthe* sanctus *Oswinus* rex. Et in *Estoldesham* sanctus *Alfwoldus* rex.

In *Bedriceswithe* sanctus *Edmundus* rex et sanctus *Bothulfus* episcopus.

In *Dunelmo* sanctus *Cuthbertus* episcopus, et sanctus *Bogels* abbas.

In *Halga-eland* sanctus *Edbrithus* episcopus.

In *Beverlic* sanctus *Joannes* episcopus; et *Bretinus* abbas.

In *Certesege* sanctus *Hybaldus* episcopus.

In *Heveshame* sanctus *Edwinus* episcopus; et sanctus *Wynstanus* martyr.

In *Wynchelcumbē* sanctus *Kenelmus* martyr.

In *Derebi* sanctus *Alhmundus* martyr.

In *Stetford* sanctus *Berthelmus* martyr.

In *Bucingaham* sanctus *Rumoldus* trium noctium puer.

In *Hereforde* sanctus *Egelbrithus* rex.

In *Sceleford* sanctus *Egelwynus* martyr.

In *Licchesfeld* sanctus *Cedda* [et sanctus *Ceada*, et sanctus *Ceata* episcopi.]

In *Malmesbiri* sanctus *Aldelmus* episcopus; et sanctus *Paternus* episcopus.

In *Hah* sanctus *Rumicaldus*.

In *Scireburna* sanctus *Wlsius* episcopus.

In *Cernele* sanctus *Edwaldus*, frater sancti *Edmundi*, regis.

In *Cicce* sanctus *Osgytha*.

In *Tamwurthe* sancta *Edgytha*.

In *Rumesege* sanctus *Merewen*; et sancta *Ealflēd* abbatissa, et sancta *Baltilda* regina.

In *Buckeswirtha* sanctus *Ivitium* confessor.

In *Eltislea* sancta *Pandone* et sancta *Wyndritha* virgo.

In *Storteforda* sancta *Aldgytha*.

In *Everwic* sanctus *Euorhilda*.

In *Coventre* sancta *Osburga*.

In *Birtuna* sancta *Modwenna*.

In *Ripun* sanctus *Wylfridus*, et sanctus *Acca*, et sanctus *Egelsig*; episcopi.

In *Wynburne* sancta *Cathburch* regina.

In *Ely* sancta *Etheldritha* et sancta *Withburga*, et sancta *Ermenilda*; et sancta *Sexburga* virgo.

In *Ornaforda* sancta *Fretheswytha*.

In *Colodesburh* sancta *Ebba* abbatissa.

In *Rameseya* sanctus *Yvo*, et sanctus *Felix*, episcopi; et sanctus *Ethelredus*, et sanctus *Ethelbrithus*, martyres; et sanctus *Egelfled* regina.

In *Wigracestre* sanctus *Onwaldus* archiepiscopus.

In *Enolfesburi* sanctus *Neotus* presbyter.

In *Grantham* sanctus *Wlfranus*, episcopus; et sanctus *Symphorianus*, martyr; et sancta *Etrythus* virgo.

In *Torneie* sanctus *Athulfus*, et sanctus *Firminus*, et sanctus *Herefridus* episcopi; et sanctus *Bothulfus* abbas, et sanctus *Benedictus* qui fuit abbas monasterii apud *Wermutham*; et sancti *Tisse* et *Hune* presbyteri; et sanctus *Tancredus* et sanctus *Torhredus* heremitæ; et sancta *Tova* virgo.

In *Bercing* sancta *Ethelburga* et sancta *Hildolitha*, et sancta *Wlfilda* abbatissæ.

In *Esca* sancta *Hilda* abbatissa.

In *Crulandia* sanctus *Guthlacus* presbyter.

In *Botraene* sanctus *Petrocus* et sanctus *Credanus* et sanctus *Medanus*; et sancta *Dachuna* virgo.

In *Sceftesbiri* sanctus *Edoardus* rex et martyr; et sancta *Elgiva* regina.

In *Witedun* sancta *Monegunda*.

In *Cathlen* sancta *Bega*.

In *Haccanessa* sancta *Ethelburga*.

In *Gyrvm* sanctus *Beda* presbyter.

In *Megellos* sanctus *Driithelmus* confessor.

In *Winloca* sancta *Milburga*.

In *Tenet* sancta *Ermengytha*.

In *Legecestre* sancta *Werburga*.

In *Burh* sanctæ reliquiæ requiescunt quæ suprascripsimus.

Hæc propter utilitatem legentium inseruimus, ut qui aliquem sanctum adire voluerit, sciat quod eum requirat."

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P. 72.—*A table of the true succession of Abbots, from Adulfus to the conquest, will be found towards the end.*

GUNTON'S SUCCESSION OF ABBOTS.

	Year of Access.	Set Years.
1 Adulfus . . .	972 . .	20
2. Kenulfus* . .	992 . .	13
3. Elsinus . . .	1006 . .	50
4. Erwinus † . .	1055 . .	8
5. Leofrieus ‡ . .	1063 . .	3

\* *Hugo* says above fourteen years.

† Or (according to *Dr. Patrick*) two years.

‡ According to *Dr. Patrick*, nine years.

## THE TRUE SUCCESSION OF ABBOTS.

	Year of Access.	Sat Years.	Year Cess.
1. Adulfus *	972 ..	20 ..	992
2. Kenulfus †	992 ..	13½ ..	1005
3. Elfricus <i>Grammaticus</i> , ‡	1005 ..	17½ ..	1023
4. Kínsinus §	1023 ..	27½ ..	1051
5. Erwinus	1051 ..	1½ ..	1052
6. Léofricus ¶	1052 ..	14 ..	1060
<hr/>			
			94
			972
			<hr/>
			94

\* Made *archbishop of York* on *Oswald's* death, 14th March, 992.

† (*exiente*) Made *bishop of Winchester* in *Elphegus'* place, (who, on *Alfric's* death, 16 Nov. 1005, was elected *archbishop of Canterbury*.)

‡ Made *archbishop of York* on *Wulstan's* death, 28th May 1023, died 24th Jan. 1051.

§ Made *archbishop of York* on *Elfric's* death, and ordained *Magsuain and John*, bishops of *Glasgow*; died 20th Dec. 1060.

¶ Resigned in favour of *Leofric*; died a monk of *Burch*, 30th May, 1060.

¶ Died abbot, 1 Nov. 1066.

P. 114.—*Elfric's writings are said to be clearly adverse to the doctrine of Transubstantiation.*

As I have endeavoured to draw certain consequences from this passage, it should be shown to be true.

The following extract is from Elfric's second epistle to *Wulstan* :—

“*Se masse-preost the mæssiaht, and ne deaht thæt Husel thicgan, (wat hine scildigne); se is amansumad; Læsse pleoh is to thicganne thæt husol thonne to halgiene. Se the aniges thinges abirigth—ætes oththe wætes—ostran oththe ofet—wines oththe wæteres—ne ræde he pistol ne godspell to-mæssan. Gif he swa thonne deth he un-ar-wirthath God:—and mid thære dyrstignysse hine-sylfe for-deth.*

*Se the tuwa halgath ane ofeletan to-husel se bith tham ge-dwolan ge-lic the an cild fullath tuwa. Crist-sylf gehalgode husel ær his throwunge: he blessode thone hlaf and to-bræc; thus cwæthende to his haligum apostolum—“Atath thisne hlaf; hit ys min lichama.” And he eft blessode ænne calic mid wine, heom cwæthende thus to—“Drincath eall of thisam, hit is min agen blod;—thære niwan ge-cytnysse the bith for manegum agoten, on synna-for-gyfnesse.” Se Drihten the halgode husel ær his throwunge; and cwæde thæt se hlaf wære his agen lichama; and thæt win wære witodlice his blod, se halgath dæghwamllice, (thurh his sacerda handa,) hlaf-to his lichaman; and*



win to his blode on gastlicre ge-rine, swa swa we rædath on bocum.

Ne bith se liflica hlaf lichamlice swa theah se ylca lichama the Crist on throwude : Ne thæt halige win næs thæt hælendes blod the for us agoten wæs on lichamlican thinge ; —Ac, on gastlicum andgite, ægther bith, sothlice,—se hlaf, his lichaman ; and thæt win, eac his blod,—swa swa se heafonlica hlaf wæs the we hatath manna," &c. &c.

"Se apostol sæde, (swa swa ge nu ge-hyrdan,) [1 Cor. 10. Omnes Patres, &c.] thæt hig ealle ætan thone ylcan gastlican mete, and ealle druncon thone gastlican drenc,—Ne cwæth he na lichamlice, ac gastlice : Næs Crist, tha, gyt ge-boren ; ne his blod næs agoten tha-tha thæt Israhela, folc ge-æt thæne mete, and of tham stane dranc : and se stan næs lichamlice CRIST the swa cwæthende wære : [*Etsi, quo-ad verba, ita dicitur*]*—*hit wæron tha ylcan ge-rinu on thære ealdan æ : and hig gastlice ge-tænodon thæt gastlice husel, ures Hælendes lichaman, the we hal-giath nu."

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P. 137. *Remaldus reduced the DATES to the reckoning of this abbey, where the year began 25th March.*

In different copies of the Chronicle the *same events* are frequently assigned to *different dates* ; by which diversity our historians have been much perplexed. I think it may be explained.

In *Peterborough* and the other monasteries founded by *Ethelwold*, the year was considered to begin the 25th March, as at Winchester. This is evident from *Elfric's Annals*, in which the year generally opens—

“ This year, *before Easter*,” or “ this year, *after Easter*.”

But in the monasteries founded by *Oswald*, (at *Worcester*, certainly,) the year began earlier; and, it seems, on 25th December, as may be seen by reference to *Wulstan's Annals*, *Ais.* 1048, 1052, 1053, 1056, 1086. And *Nicholas' 1091, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, &c.* On this diversity of dates, and others, there are some remarks in the preface to *L'Art de verifier les dates*, &c., which seem peculiarly applicable to the present case.

“ Si dans une même Chronique il se rencontre divers commencemens de l'année, que devons nous penser de divers Chroniques, comparées les unes avec les autres. N'y trouverions-nous pas toutes les variations a cet égard, que nous avons remarquées, et que, par la suite, nous remarquerons encore dans nos Chartes?—Cela est certain: et *Gervais de Cantorberi* va nous en fournir la preuve. Cet auteur vivait au commencement du troisième siècle, dans le tems que les Chroniques se multipliaient à l' infini. Ecoutons ce qu'il nous dit. “ *Inter ipsos etiam Chronicæ scriptores* (ce sont les termes de l'avant propos de sa chronique) *nonnulla dissensio est:—Nam cum omnium unica et præcipua sit intentio annos*

*Domini, eorumque continentias supputatione veraci enarrare, ipsos Domini annos, diversis modis et terminis numerant; sicque in ecclesiam Dei multam mendaciorum confusionem inducunt. Quidam enim annos Domini incipient computare ab annunciatione; alii, à nativitate; quidam, à circumcisione; quidam, vero, à passione.* Ajoutons à cette enumeration de Gervais, ce que nous avons prouvé plus haut. *Quidam a Martio; quidam tandem a paschate.* Voici maintenant les reflexions qu'il fait sur ces divers commencemens de l'année de l'incarnation. "Cui ergo (dit-il) istorum magis credendum est? *Annus solaris, secundum Romanorum traditionem et ecclesie Dei consuetudinem a Calendis Januarii initium sumit; in diebus natalis Domini, hoc est, in fine Decembris sortitur finem. Quomodo ergo utriusque verum poterit esse computatio, cum alter in principio, alter in fine anni solaris, annos incipiat incarnationis? Uterque etiam annis Domini unum eundemque titulum apponit, cum dicit anno ab Incarnatione tanto vel tanto facta sunt illa et illa. His, aliisque similibus ex causis in ecclesia Dei orta est non modica dissentio.*"

Après un témoignage si clair et si précis, d'un témoin oculaire, on doit regarder comme suffisamment prouvée la confusion qu'avaient jettée dans les chroniques les differens usages de commencer l'année. Mais le texte de Gervais, dit encore plus qu'il ne semble d'abord exprimer. En l'examinant de près nous croyons en effet y trouver un nouveau commencement de l'année dont nous avons dit ci-devant deux mots sans le prouver. C'est sur ces paroles que nous nous fondons. *Annus solaris, secundum Romanorum traditionem, &c. . . . annos incipiat incarnationis?* Il ne paraît pas qu'on puisse entendre ces paroles de ceux qui commençaient l'année le 25 Decembre,—jour de la naissance du Sauveur, et de ceux qui le commençaient sept jours plus tard, avec

*le moins de Janvier.* Une difference de 7 jours n'était pas capable de causer la confusion dont se plaint le moine *Gervais*, lorsqu'il dit *Quomodo ergo*, &c. Cette façon de parler ne marque-t-elle pas clairement deux choses ? 1°. qu'il y avait en ce tems-la, des auteurs qui commençaient l'année avec le mois de *Janvier*, et cela un an moins 7 jours, avant ceux qui la commençaient à Noël. 2°. Que les *uns* et les *autres*, malgré la difference d'un an, marquaient, dans leur chroniques, ces deux années par la même année de l'Incarnation. Si tel est le vrai sens des paroles de *Gervais*, comme il ne parait pas qu'on puisse en douter, nous sommes en pouvoir de répondre à une difficulté proposée aux savans par le Pere Mabillon, &c.

Au reste ce commencement de l'année de l'Incarnation, antérieur d'un an au nôtre, ne doit point étonner, dans un tems où chaque auteur semble avoir eu la liberté de commencer l'année quand il voulait. On a vu plus haut qu'il y'en avait qui la commençaient le jour de l'annonciation, *neuf mois, et sept jours AVANT nous* ;— Cette manière de commencer l'année de l'Incarnation n'empêchait pas ceux qui la suivaient de regarder le *premier Janvier* comme le premier jour de l'année solaire, suivant l'usage des Romains, très-connu et très-commun en l'occident." *Vol. I. p. 17. Ed. Paris, 1818.*

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Monsieur St. Allais, the editor of the edition of 1818, adds the following information in a note :

" En Angleterre on trouve des vestiges de cet usage [to date from 25 Dec.] dès le 7<sup>me</sup> Siècle, et il s'y main-

tenait encore au 13<sup>me</sup>. *Gervais* de Cantorberi, qui vivait alors, et dont on a vu les plaintes, sur les dissensions des computistes de son tems dans la maniere de commencer l'année, témoigne cependant, que presque tous les écrivains de sa nation qui l'avaient précédé, s'étaient accordés à placer l'ouverture de l'année au jour de *noël*, par la raison que ce jour est comme le terme où le soleil finit sa course et le recommence. *Hâc ut estimo*, (dit-il) *ratione inducti sunt omnes, ferè, qui ante me scripserunt, ut à natali Domini anni subsequentis sumerent initium*. Cependant, il paraît, que des le 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'usage de l'Eglise anglicane était de commencer l'année au 25 Mars. Et c'est de cette raison, sans doute, qu' *Edmer* qui écrivait vers le milieu de ce siècle, appelle les Quatre-tems qui suivent la Pentecôte le Jéune du quatrième mois.

Au reste il faut distinguer trois sortes d'années chez les Anglais, savoir, l'année *historique*, commençant depuis *long-tems* en Angleterre au premier Janvier; l'année *legale*, (suivie dans les actes publics,) commençant à Noël, comme nous l'avons dit, jusqu' à la fin du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle, puis, au 25 Mars; Quant à l'année *liturgique*, elle commence au premier dimanche de l'Advent.

Without disputing whether *Elfric's* reckoning is to be called *historical* or *ecclesiastical*, he clearly begins his year on the 25th March; and *Wulstan, his*, on the 25th December.

Now the monks, Monsieur St. Allais' authors, correctly remark the difference, and yet come to a false conclusion: at least, it seems to me so, but I will not be certain whether the mistake lies with *them*, or with *our annalists*.

There is a difference somewhere, which has caused great confusion in our history.

The chronologists suppose that to reckon 25 *March* as the first day of the year, is to *advance* the year of our Lord. In their own words—*those who keep that reckoning, begin to count nine months and seven days before us, who reckon from 1st January.*

But, on the contrary, we find that the dating *from Lady-day* was in fact considered a *loss*. To prove it,

*Josseling*, in his notes upon the copy *Tiberius B. IV.* subscribes under the date 1042—1041. in *Hist. Petrob.*; and under every year from 1070 to 1080, (where that copy ends,) he *remarks to the same effect*: as 1071, 1070 *Hist. Sax. Petrob.*—meaning that in his Peterborough copy, in which those annals of Wulstan's were inserted, it was always with a year lost.

*And there was reason therein.* What happened before New Year's-day, *i. e.* 25 March, was properly assigned to the preceding year. The awkwardness was, in the continuing the *disputed date* over the 25 March; but the compiler did not dissect the years.

The same collator, *Josseling*, makes a similar entry in the same *Tiberius B. IV.* on comparing it with the copy now called the Abingdon copy (*Tiberius B. I.*): 1048 in the *Tib. B. IV.*

is 1047 in *lib. M<sup>ri</sup>. Boyer*; 1049 and 1050, are 1048 and 1049 in *lib. M<sup>ri</sup>. Boyer*.

This arrangement of dates in the *Abbingdon* transcript is more worthy of notice than in the two *Peterborough* copies.

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Page 136. *Hugo was sincerity itself.*

167. *So much for Hugo's credulity, &c.*

In the *above*, and perhaps in *other* passages, I have rather exceeded in charity to Hugo, and thereby misconceived his true character. A close and frequent reference to his book has at last convinced me of his deceit.

We have already shown what rank he held amongst our historians, and have done something to reduce it; but if the degree of his merit is thought worthy of dispute, it may be ascertained by what his book contains concerning himself.

"Ex hiis 50 libris dedit Abbas Ernulfus 20 libras ad comparanda pallia et cappas per manus Secretariorum *Wictrici* (ss.) et *Remaldi Spiritus*, Socii ejus; quod et ipsi strenuè perfecerunt, sicut ipsa adhuc in Ecclesia posita testantur. Isti pene per 30 annos Secretarii erant," &c.

“Ipse vero Remaldus quendum fratrem suum in puerili ætate fecerat monachum nomine Hugonem, qui ei semper adhærebat et serviebat, qui modo defunctus est, *qui etiam hunc libellum collegit, collectumque scripsit.* Idem vero Hugo in pueritia sua in infirmitatem quandam incidit, ut, omnibus annis, et sæpe, sanguinem nimium excrearet, et inde nimium debilis fieret; unde factum est ut, una vice, ita infirmatus sit, ut quindecim bacillas plenas sanguine in unâ ebdomadâ per os excrearet. Quod videntes fratres et de eo desperantes cum nimio dolore et fletu eum sacro oleo ungunt, et sancto corpore et precioso sanguine Domini communicant, quia nihil aliud ei nisi mortem adesse putaverunt, et die ac nocte exitum ejus observaverunt; et tamen orationes pro eo indesinenter ad dominum fuderunt; altera vero die cum fratres capitulum introissent, ipse ipsa infirmitate ita gravatus est, ut subito plenum majorem bacillum sanguine excrearet et loquelam perderet. Et jam desperatus cucurrit dominus Nicholaus, qui tunc Custos erat infirmorum et intravit capitulum clamans et dicens jam mori fratrem,—venient et commendent animam. At illi dolentes nimium, noluerunt, sicut mos est, intrare ad eum, sed citius intrantes monasterium, humique prostrati septem psalmos cantantes, et cum lachrimis et gemitu Deum deprecantes, ut, per intercessionem Dei genetricis Mariæ semper virginis et beati Petri apostolorum principis, cui servierat, et eorum quorum reliquiæ ibi requiescunt, et omnium sanctorum, ei vitæ donaret spatium. Dixerat enim Dominus Egelbrihtus sanctissimus vir, et alii similiter, antequàm exissent de capitulo, *eamus omnes fratres citius in ecclesiam; imploremus Domini auxilium et non negabit nobis unum hominem.* Finitis autem 7 psalmis cucurrerunt ad domum infirmorum, et invenerunt eum jam super terram positum, sicuti se projeceret, et anhel-



tum longius trahentem, et in exitu laborentem. Cernentes autem *hæc*, fratres paraverunt quæcunque erant necessaria ad tale officium, et psalteria super tabulum scripserunt quæ canenda erant. Cumque hæc agerentur, et Dominus Turicus, prior, sederat juxta eum, fraterque ejus Remaldus ex alia parte, omnesque qui aderunt fientes et lugentes; repente magnum miraculum contigit, et nostris temporibus inauditum. Nam pulsatus Dominus, ut credo, suæ genetricis, et omnium suorum sanctorum precibus, et lachrymis fratrum, subito revixit, qui jam totus erat frigidus, aperiensque oculos, et videns supradictum *Priorem* juxta se, intuitus est eum *distans*. Intellexit vero ipse *Prior* ipsum aliquid velle dicere si posset, aurem ori ejus apposuit. Tandem ei, (Domino vires dante,) loquelâ quâ potuit, dixit Priori, ut sumeret candelam portaretque ad altare *Sanctæ Mariæ*, devoveretque ipsum Horas ejus canere omnibus diebus vitæ suæ. Per hoc intellexerunt *fratres*, quod per *ipsam* ipsum esse redditum vitæ, quia hoc primum fuit verbum ejus. Quod cernentes et audientes *fratres* qui antea fiebant *præ tristitia*, nunc lachrimas lachrimis addebant, *præ gaudio*, et Domini laudabant magnalia. Ipse vero paulatim cæpit reviviscere et loqui. Sumentes eum fratres posuerunt super lectum, et calefacientes vestimenta apposuerunt *lateri* ejus, et *pedibus*, et cæteris membris, et refocillabant eum. In paucis antem diebus bene convaluit, *Deoque* et *suæ adjutrici* gratias egit et servivit. Ex integro vero sanatus, quia a bonis doctoribus, scilicet *Ernulfo*, abbate, et *Remaldo* fratre ejus, cæterisque senioribus bene instructus erat. Et vocabatur *Hugo Albus*, quoniam *albus*; et *facie* erat *decorus*, et *fide* christianus: habitu vero dicebatur ipse Niger monachus. Quodsi monachalia geasit, in *illis* gaudebit. In *pueritia* et in *juventute* *FILIUS* seniorum fuit, et frater cœvorum; *nunc*

autem, *senior omnium*, PATER est omnibus: suos diligebatur  
 amicos, et ipse diligebatur ab eis, et non solum a *monachis*  
 sed etiam, ab *Abbatibus*, ss. *Joanne, Henrico, Martino, Wil-*  
*helmo*; *sub quibus*, et in quorum temporibus erat; et *quibus*,  
 ut illis placeret, *promeruit*. Sed et in vicinis monasteriis, et  
 longè, latèque, ubi cognitus fuerat, nec minus diligeba-  
 tur, nec laudabatur. Necnon *officia*, et *ministeria*, et  
*possessiones ecclesiæ*, *intus et foris*, per temporum *vices*  
 in manus ejus commendatæ *quamdiu potuit*, tenuit. Ad  
 ultimum, ad gradum *Sub-prioratûs* vix pervenit, et *pri-*  
*mitus* quidem sub Abbate *Martino*; *pôt* sub Abbate  
*Willielmo* de Walterville. Nunc vero sufficiant hæc  
 pauca de tanto, tamque mirabili viro, stylo agresti me  
 perorasse: dicendum est quàm gloriôsè obiit.

Obiit tandem iste beatus,

Istis virtutibus ditatus,

Tempore *Willielmi Abbatis*

Cujus anima sit in cœlis

Prece Michaelis;

Amen.

“Supradictus autem Abbas Ernulfus,” &c.

The above extracts occur in the middle of Hugo’s book, i. e. in Ernulfus’ time. In *one* line the writer *modo defunctus est*; in *another*, he is *nunc Senior omnium monachorum*: apparently the name of the *abbot* in whose time he died was left blank, and supplied afterwards (or anticipated, to be altered if necessary.)

The writer of all this could be no other than Hugo himself, *who compiled this book*—(Qui

hunc libellum collegit ; collectumque, scripsit.) His absurdity was equal to any thing.

This modest description of himself, together with what he took from Elfric, is the foundation of his credit.

One instance of his logical skill, and we have done. It is the sequel of the story in p. 167.

“ Nam erat quidam Secretarius Burgi nomine Eilricus Cnorri, in tempore abbatis Matthiæ ; qui cum idem abbas non credidisset quod brachium integrum esset jussit aperiri sibi capsulam ; ac secretarius cum non haberet manus aptas ad hæc tractanda incautè accepit ipsam parvam scapulam, quæ et inter digitos ejus fracta est statimque exivit sanguis ex eâ, et cecidit super pannum in quo erat involuta ; et ita recens est usque hodie, quasi hâc die exiisset ; quod et oculis nostris vidimus ideoque credimus : quia is qui minimus erat in corpore non tamen in merito, intimasset pro se et pro aliis non ibi se velle remanere, cum dixisset ter sanctus, acsi dixisset ter, *nolumus hic requiescere.*

# **A P P E N D I X.**

**No. II.**



## APPENDIX.

No. II.

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### ON THE COMPILATION PREFIXED TO ELFRIC'S ANNALS.

THE *Compilation prefixed*, as well as the *Annals* contained in the *Codex Tiberius, B. IV.* appear to be wholly *Elfric's*, down to the year 1016. I have only thought it proper to publish under his name *the account of the last Danish conquest*, beginning in 991; but the earlier parts of this copy, which we call the *Compilation*, are not without interest. As far as they seem to evidence *Elfric's* identity, they may be noticed by way of preface. Down to about the year 1005, I think the whole was written at Winchester.

The following passages show the advantage of *written history* over *tradition*. As Elfric was born about 965, the events fell *within ten years of his birth*, and were collected *within twenty years after*, and probably much less.

“DCCCCLV. Her forthferde *Eadred*, cyning, and he rest on ealdan Mynstere;\* and *Eadwig* feng to West-Seaxena-Rice; and *Eadgar* his brother feng to Myrcena-Rice: and hi wæron *Eadmundes* suna *cyninges* and *Sc̅e Ælfgyfe*.”

Now *Edred* died in 956; and thereupon *Edwy* succeeded to the whole kingdom: but *Edgar*, in 957, was possessed of Mercia by a faction. It seems to have cost the historian some trouble to ascertain their parentage.

“DCCCCLVIII. *Oda* arcebiscop to-twæmde *Eadwi* cyning and *Ælfgyfe* fortham the hi wæron to-gesybbe.”

Not a very accurate account of this divorce. [Had Dunstan written the *Canterbury Annals*, it would have been mentioned in them.]

But these mistakes are no discredit to Elfric; we ought rather to compare *history before his time*, with the *accuracy* which his pen *introduced*.

\* DCCCCLXXXIV. Her forthferde se halga bisceop *Æthelwold* *Munec a-fader*.”

It is apparent that this compilation (which

\* i. e. In the *old* monastery of *Winchester*, Elfric's abbey.

we venture to call Elfric's) was drawn up about the time we suppose, from the mention therein of *Edgar*.

"On his dagum hit godode georne and God him ge-  
uthe thæt he wunode on sibbe tha hwile the he lifode,"  
&c. &c.—*An.* 959.

We have inserted from the *Canterbury Annals*, the accounts of *Edgar's coronation and death*. The same events are thus described in *this copy*:—

"DCCCCLXXII. Her was Eadgar atheling gehalgod to  
cyninge on Pentecostes Mæsse-dæge on V id. Maii, thy  
XIII geare the he on rice feng, æt Hatabathum; and he  
was tha anewana XXX wintre: and sona æfter tham se  
Cyning ge-lædde ealle his scip-fyrde to Lei-ceastre; and  
thær him comon on-gean VI Cyningas, and ealle with  
hine ge-treowsedon thæt he woldon efen wyrhton beon on  
sæ and on lande."

"DCCCCLXXV. Her Eadgar ge-for;—Angla reccend,—  
West-seaxena wine—and Myrcna-mund-bora;—Cuth was  
thet wide—geond feola theoda.—Tha afaren Edmundes—  
Ofer ganotes beth.—Cynegas hyne wide—furthodon  
sywthe—bugon to tham cyninge—swa him was ge-cynde,  
—Næs Flota swa rang,—he se Here swa strang—tha on  
angel-cynne—ær him ge-fætte—tha hwile the se æthela  
cyning—Cyne-stol ge-rehte. Her Eadward Eadgares sunu  
feng to rice. And sona on tham ilcan geare on hærfest æt-  
eowde cometa se steorra: and com tha on tham æfran-  
geare swythe mycel hungor; and swythe mænig-fealde  
styrunga geond angel-cynn: on his dagum, for his iu-



gothe, godes with ær sacan, godes lage bræcon Ælfere caldorman and othre manega : and munuc-regol myrdon ; and mynstra to-stæncton ; and munecas to-dræfdon ; and godes theowas fessedon the Eadgar kyning het ær thone halgan bisceop Æthelwold gestalian : and wydewan be-stryptan oft, and ge-lorne ; and fela unrihta and yfela unlagas aysan up syththan : and á á æfter tham hit yfelode swythe. And on tham tyman wæs eac *Oslac* se mæra eorl ge-utod of Angel-cynn.”

*King Edward* the martyr's death is thus indig-  
nantly described :—

“ DCCCCLXXIX. Her wæs Eadweard cyning of-slægen on æfen-tyde æt Corfes geate \* \* \* \* Ne wearth Angel-cynne nan wærsta dæd ge-don thone theos wæs syththon hi ær ærest Bryton-land ge-sohton. *Mon* hine of-myrtrodon ; ac *God* hine mærsod : He wæs on *life* eorhtlic cing ; he is nu, *æfter deathe*, heafonlic sanct :—Hine noldon his eorhtlican mægas wrecan ; ac hine hafath his *heafonlica fæder* swythe ge-wrecen : Tha eorhtlican *banan* woldon his ge-mind on corthan *adilgian* : Ac se *uplica wrecend* hafath his ge-mynd on heofenum and on eorhtan *to-bræd* :—For-tham tha the noldon ær to his *libbendum lichaman* on-bugan ; tha nu eadmodlice on cneowum abugath to his *dædum banum*. Nu we mægon on-gytan thæt manna wisdom ; and heora smeagunga ; and heora rædas syndon nahlice ongean Godes getheahht.

But, though this compilation is attributable to Elfric, I am ready, on *slight* reason, to reject it ; for between *this* and the *annals* the difference both in *style* and *merit* is infinite. The lan-

guage of the former, indeed, has no particular character ; but the *annals* precisely agree therein with the colloquy at the end of the volume, and the rest of Elfric's performances. In a word, *this* is the Saxon in which the venerable *Jonathan Oldenbuck*, F.A.S. expects to be asked for his estate.



## ELFRIC'S ANNALS.

DCCCCLXXX. Her *Sigeric* wæs ge-halgod to arce-  
biseop.

DCCCCXI. Her wæs Gypeswic ge-hergod: and on  
tham geare man ge-rædde thæt man *geald* ærest *gafol* de-  
niscum mannum; forþam micelam brogan the hi wor-  
tan be tham sæ riman; thæt wæs ærest x thousand punda.  
Thone ræd gerædde ærest *Sigeric* arcebiscop.

DCCCCXII. Her *Oswald* se haliga arcebiscop for-let his  
lif; and ge-ferde thæt heafonlice. And *Æthelwine* eal-  
dorman ge-for on tham ilcan geare. Tha ge-rædde se cy-  
ning and eall his witan the man gegaderede ealle tha scypa  
the ahtas wæron on lunden-byrig; and se cyning tha  
be-tæhte tha fyrde to lædenne *Ælfric* ealdorman and *Tho-  
rede* eorle and *Ælfstane* biseop: and sceoldon cunnian  
gif hi meahton thone Here ahwær utan be-træppan. Tha  
sende se ealdorman *Ælfric* and het warnian thone here:  
and tha, on thære nihte the hi on thone dæg to-gædere  
cuman sceoldon tha sceoc he on nihte fram thære fyrde  
him-sylfum to micclum bysmore: and se here thær æt-  
bærst butan an scip thær man of-sloh. And tha ge-mette  
se here tha scipa of East-Englum, and of Lundenne and

hi thær-of ge-slogon micel wæl. And thæt scyp ge-namon æl ge-wæpnod and ge-wædod thæt se ealdorman on wæs. Tha ; æfter Oswalde arcebisceop forsythe, feng *Ealdulf* abbot to Eoferwic-stole, and to Wicgearna-ceastre ; and *Kænulf* to tham abbotrice æt Burh.

DCCCXCIII. \* Her on thissum geare wæs Bebban-burh abrocen ; and mycel here-huthe thær ge-numen wæs. And æfter tham com to Humbran-muthan se here ; and thær mycel yfele worhte, ægther ge on Lindesige, ge on North-Hymbran. Tha ge-gaderade man swythe mycle fyrde ; and tha hi to-gadere gan sceoldon, tha on-stældon tha heretogan ærest thone fleam : thæt wæs *Frena*, and *Godwine*, and *Frythegyst*. On thissum ilcan geare het se cyng ablendan *Elfgar*, *Elfrices* sunu, ealdormannes.

DCCCXCIV. Her on thissum geare comon Anlaf and Swegen into Lundenbyrig on *nativitas sce mariæ* ; mid feower and hund nigontigum scipum ; and hi tha, on tha burh fæstlice feohtende wæron ; and eac hi mid fyre ontendan woldon : ac hi thær ge-ferdon maran hearm and yfel thonne hi æfre wendon thæt him ænig burh-warū gedon sceolde ; ac seo halige Godes moder on thæm dæg hire mild-heortnysse thære burh-ware ge-cydde, and hi ahrædde with heora feondum. And hi tha thænon ferdon and worhton tha mæstan yfel the æfre ænig here don meahthe on bærneth, and hergunge ; and on man-slih-tum ; ægther be tham sæ-riman on East-Seaxum, and on Cent-lande, and on Suth-Seaxum, and on Hamtun-scire : and æt-neaxton namon him hors, and ridon swa wide swa hi woldon ; and unasecgendlic yfel wyrrende wæron. Tha ge-rædde se cyng and his witan thæt him man-to

\* The Canterbury copy has another account this year, beginning, " *Her com Unlaf mid cccclxxx scipum to Stanc, &c.* This is meant of 994.

sende, and him behet gafol and metsynges with-thon-the hi thære hergunge ge-swicon : and hi tha thæt under-fen-gon. And com tha eall se here to *Hamtun*, and thær winter-setl namon : and hi man thær fedde geond eall West-Seaxena-ric; and him man geald feos xvi thousand punda. Tha sende se cyninge æfter Anlaf cynges *Ælfeak* bisceop and *Æthelweard* ealdorman; and man gislode tha hwile into scipum; and hi tha læddon Anlaf mid micclum wurthscipe to tham cyninge to Andefrow; and se cyning *Æthelred* hys on-feng æt bisceopes handa; and him cynelice gyfode : and him tha Anlaf behet, (eac swa ge-læste;) thæt næfre eft to Angel-cynne mid unfrythe cuman wolde.

ccccxcv. Her on thissum geare æt-eowde cometa se steorra and *Sigeric* arcebisceop forth-ferde.

ccccxcvi. Her on thissum geare was *Ælfric* gehalgode to arcebisceop to Cristes Cyrican.

ccccxcvii. Her on thissum geare ferde se here abutan defenanscire into Sefern-muthan; and thær hergodon ægther-ge on *Corn-Wealum*, and on *North-Wealum*, and on *Defenum* : and eodon him tha up æt Weced-port, and thær mycel yfel worhton on bærnætte and on man-slihtum : and æfter tham wendon eft abutan *Peuwæth* steort on tha suth healfe; and wendon tha into Tamer-muthan; and eodon thia up oth hi comon to Hlydan-forda : and ælc thing bærndon and slogon the hi ge-meston : and *Ordulfes* mynster Tæfingstoc for-bærndon; and unasec-gendlice here-huthe mid him to scypon brohton.

ccccxcviii. Her wend se here eft eastweard into From-muthan; and thær æghwær up eodon swa wide swa hi woldon into Dorsæton; and man eft fyrde on gean hi gegaderede; ac sona swa hi togædere gan sceoldon thonne wearth thær æfre thurh sum thing fleam astiht; and æfre hit æt-ende Sige ahton : and thone othre hwile

lægon him on Wiht-lande : and æton him tha hwile of Hamtunscire, and of Suth-Seaxum.

ccccxcix. Her com se Here eft abutan into Temese ; and wendon tha up and-lang Medewægan to Hrofe-ceastre ; and com tha se Centisce fyrd thær-ongean : and hi tha thær feste togædere fengon : Ac wa-la-wa ! thæt hi to-hrathe bugon and flugon [fortham the hi næfdon fultum the hi habban sceoldon :\*] and tha deniscan ahton wælstowe ge-weald ; and namon tha horsan, and ridon swa wide swa hi-sylf woldon ; and for-neah ealle west-centingas for-dydon and for-hergodon. Tha rædde se cyning with his witan thæt man sceolde mid *scyp-fyrde*, and eac mid *land-fyrde* him ongean faran. Ac tha tha scypum gearwe wæron, tha ilcodon tha deman fram dæge to dæge ; and swæncte that earme folc thæt on tham scypon læg : and á, swa hit forthwærdre beon sceolde, swa wæs hit lætre, fram anre tyde to othere ; and á hi læton heora feonda-wæred weaxan : and á man rymde fram thære sæ : and hi ferdon æfre forth æfter : and thonne, æt tham ænde, ne be-heold hit nan thing butan folces ge-swinc, and feos spylling, and heora feonda forth-bylding.

m. Her on thissum geare se cyning ferde into Cumberlande ; and swythe-neah eall for-hergode : and his scypum wendon ut abutan Lægceastre, and sceoldon cuman ongean hine, ac hi ne meahton. Tha ge-hergodon hi Monige. And se unfryth flota wæs thæs sumeres ge-wend to Ricerdes-rice.

mi. Her com se here to Eaxan-muthan ; and up tha eodon to thære byrig : and thære fæstlice feohtende wæron ; ac him man swythe heardlice with-stod. Tha

\* From copy *Tiberius B. 1.*, which is a somewhat better copy than the *B. 4.*

wendon hi geond thæt land, and dydon eall swa hi bewuna wæron; slogon and bærndon. Tha gesamnode man thær ormæte fyrde. *Defeniscas* folces, and *Sumer-sætiscas*; and hi tha somne comon æt Peonn-ho; and sona swa hi togædere fengon, tha beah seo englisce fyrd; and hi thær mycel wæl of-slohgon; and ridon tha ofer thæt land; and wæs æfre heora *æstra* sith wyrse thonne *se ara*: And mid him tha micle here-huthe to scypon brohton. And thanon wendon into Wiht-land, and thær him ferdon abutan swa swa hi-sylf woldon: and him nan thing ne with-stod; ne him-to ne dorste scyp-here on sæ [to genealæcan;\*] ne land-fyrd; ne eodon hi swa feor up. Wæs hit tha on ælce wisan hefig time, fortham the hi næfre heora yfeles ne ge-swicon.

MII. Her on thissum geare se Cyninge ge-rædde and his witan, thæt man sceolde gafol-gyldan tham flotán; and fryth with hi nyman; with-thou-the hi heora yfeles ge-swican sceoldon.

Tha sende se cyning to tham flotán *Leofsiġe* ealdor man; and he tha thæs cynges worde and his witenas grith with hi ge-sette; and thæt hi to metsunge fengon, and to gafole: and hi tha thæt under-fengon; and him man tha ge-geald xxiii thusend punda. Tha, on gemang thissum, of-sloh *Leofsiġe* ealdorman *Æfic* thæs cynges *heah-gerefan*; and se cyng hine tha ge-utede of earde. And tha, on tham ilcan lænctene com seo hlæfdige, Ricardes dohtor, hider, to lande. And on tham ilcan sumera *Ealdulf*, arcebiscop, forþ ferde. And on tham geare se cyng *het of-slean ealle tha Deniscan men the on Angel-cynne wæron on Britius mæsse-dæg*; fortham tham cyng wæs ge-cyð thæt hi woldon hine be-syrewan æt his life, and siththan ealle his witan, and siththan this Rice.†

\* From the *Domitian A. VIII.*

† I am afraid this *massacre* can no longer be disputed.



MIII. Her wæs Exanceastre abrocen thurh thone fren-  
 ciscan ceorl Huga the seo læfdige hæfde hyre geset to-  
 gerefan. And se here tha, tha burh mid-ealle fordyde;  
 and micle here-huthe thær ge-nam. And on tham ilcan  
 geare eode se here up into Wiltun-scire. Tha ge-ga-  
 derede man swythe micle fyrde on Wiltunscire, and of  
 Hamtun-scire; and swythe anrædlice with thæs heres  
 werd wæron. Tha sceolde se ealdorman Ælfric lædan tha  
 fyrde, ac he teah tha forth his ealdan wrencas sona swa  
 hi wæron swa ge-hende thæt ægther here on other hawede,  
 tha ge-bræd he hine seocne; and on-gan he hine breccan  
 to spiwenne; and cwæth thæt he ge-sycled wære. And  
 swa theah thæt folc be-cyrde\* thæt he lædan sceolde:  
 swa hit gecwethen is; *Thonne se heretoga waccath, Thonne*  
*bith eall se here swythe ge-hyndred.* Tha Swegen ge-seah  
 thæt hi anræde næron, and ealle to-hwurfon; tha lædde  
 he his here into Wiltune, and hi tha burh ge-hergodon  
 and forbærndon; and eode him tha to Searbyrig [Sarum]  
 \*and thanon eft to sæ ferde. Thær he wiste his yth-ben-  
 gistas wæron.

MIV. Her com Swegen mid his flotan to Northwic;  
 and tha burh ealle ge-hergode and for-bærnde. Tha ge-  
 rædde *Ulfcytel* with tha witan on East-Englum, thæt hit  
 betere wære thæt man with thone here frythes ceapede,  
 ær hi to mycelne hearm on tham lande ge-dydon; for  
 tham hi unwæres comon, and he fyrst næfde thæt he his  
 fyrde ge-gaderede. Tha (under tham grythe the him  
 betweenan beon sceolde) tha bestal se here up fram  
 scypan and wendon heora fore to Theotforda. Tha *Ulf-*  
*cytel* thæt undergeat, tha sende he thæt man sceolde tha  
 scipo to-heawan. Ac hi abruthon tha the hi to-thohte;  
 and he tha gaderede his fyrde digolice swa he swythoste  
 mihte. And se here com tha to Theotforda binnan

\* Be-swac in copy *Laud*.

thrym wucan thæs the hi ær ge-hergodon Northwic ; and thær binnan ane niht wæron, and tha Burh hergodon and for-bærndon. Tha, on mergen tha hi to-scypon woldon tha cum Ulfcytel mid his wærode ; [tha cwæth Ulfcytel mid his werode thæt hi thær togædere for scealdon\*] and hi thær togædere fæstlice fengon ; and mycel wæl thær, on ægthre hand, ge-feol. Thær wearth East-Engla folces seo yldesta of-slagen. Ac gif thæt fulle mægen thær wære ne eoden hi næfre eft to-scypon. Swa hi sylfe sædon thæt hi næfre wyrson hand-plegan on angel cynne ne ge-metton thonne Ulfcytel him to-brohte.

mv. Her on thissum geare was se mycla hungor geond angel-cynn swylcne nan man ær ne ge-munde swa grymme. And se flota thæs geares gewende of thissum earde to Den-mearce ; and lytel ne fyrst let, thæt he eft ne com.

mvī. Her forth-færde *Ælfric* arcebisceop ; and *Ælfeah* bisceop feng-to æfter him to tham arce-stole ; and on tham ilcan geare was *Wulfgeat* eall his are on-genumen ; and *Wulfeah* and *Ulfgeat* wæron ablænde : and *Ælfhelm* ealdorman of-slagen : and *KENULF* bisceop forth-ferde. And tha ofer thone midne sumor com se micla flota to Sandwic ; and dydon eall swa hi ge ær wuna wæron ; hergodon and bærndon, and slogon, swa swa hi ferdon. Tha het se cyng abannan ut ealne theod-scipe of West-Seaxum and of Myrcum ; and hi lægon ut tha ealne thone hærfest on fyrdinge ongean thone here. Ac hit naht ne be-beold ; the ma the hit oftor ær dyde. Ac, for eallum thyssum, se here ferde swa he sylf wolde ; and seo fyrding dyde thære land-leode ælcne hearm thæt him na the ær ne dohte ne in-here ne ut-here. Tha hit winter læhte, tha ferde se fyrd ham ; and se here

\* From the copy *Tiberius B. 1.*

com tha ofer tha martines mæssan to his frythstole to Wiht-land and tylode him thær æghwær thæs the hi behofedon. And tha, to tham middan-wintran, eodon him to heora gearwan feorme ut thurh Hamtunscire into Bearruhschire to Readingon : and hi á dydon heora ealdon ge-wuna ; ateondon heora here-beacna swa swa hi ferdon. Wendon tha to Wealingæforda and thæt eall for-swældon. And wæron him tha ane niht æt Ceolesege [Cholsey] ; and wendon him tha and-lang Æsces-dune [Ashdown] to Cwic-helmes-hlæwe [Cuckamsley Hill] and thær on-bidedon beotra gylpa, forthan oft man cwæth *gif hi Cwic-helmes-hlæwe ge-sohtan thæt he næfre to sæ gangen ne sceoldon*. Wendon him tha othres weges hamweard. Tha wæs thær fyrd ge-somned æt Cynestan, and hi thær togædere fengon, and sona thæt [*i. e.* the English] wærod on fleame ge-brohton ; and siððan heora here-huthe to sæ feredon. Thær mihton ge-seon Win-ceastre-leode rancne here and un-earhne, tha hi be heora gate to sæ eodon and mete and madmas L mila fram sæ fetton. Tha wæs se cyng gewend ofer Temese into Scrobbs-byrig-schire ; and nam thær his feorme in thære middewintres-tide. Tha wearth hit swa mycel ege fram tham here thæt nan mihte ge-thencan and neasmeagan hu man hi of earde bringan sceolde ; oððe thisne eard with hi ge-healdan ; forthan the hi hæfdon ælce schire on West Seaxum stithe ge-mearcod mid bryne and mid hergunge. Agan se cyning tha georne to smeageane with his witan hwæt him eallum nædlicost thuhte thæt man thissum earde ge-beorgan meahte ær hi mid-ealle for-don wurde. Tha gerædde se cyng and his witan eallum theod-scype to-thearfe, (theah hit him-eallum lath wære,) thæt man nyde moste tham here gafol geldan. Tha seude se cyning to tham here ; and him cyððan het, thæt he wolde thæt him grith betweonan beon-sceolde ;

and him man gafol and metsunge syllan sceolde. And hi tha ealle thæt under-fengon; and him man ametsode tha geond eall angel-cynn.\*

MVII. Her on thissum geare wæs thæt gafol ge-læste tham unfrith here: thæt wæs xxxvi thusand punda. On thissum geare eac wæs Eadric ge-set to ealdorman geond myrcna-rice. Her for Ælfeah bisceop to Rome æfter pallium.

MVIII. Her behead se cyng thæt man sceolde ofer eall angel-cyn scypum fæstlice wyrcan; thæt is thonne of thrym hund hidum and x betynum, *anne scægth*: and of viii hidum, *helm and byrnan*.†

MIX. Her on thissum geare wurdon tha scipo gearwe the we ær ymbe spræcon;—and heora wæs swa fela, swa næfre ær thæs the us bec secgath on angel-cynne ne ge wurdon on nannes cynges dæge: and hi man tha ealle togædere feroðe to Sandwic; and thær sceoldan licgan, and thisne eard healdon with ælcne ut-here:—Ac we tha gyt næfdon tha gesæltha ne thone wurthscipe thæt seo scyp-ferd nyt wære thissum earde the ma the heo oftor ær wæs. Tha ge-wearth hit on thissum ilcan timan, oththe lytle ær, thæt *Brihtric*, *Eudrices* brothor ealdormannes, for-wregde *Wulfnoth* cild, thone Suth-Seaxiscan, to tham cynge; and he tha ut ge-wende; and him tha to aspeon thæt he hæfde xx Scipa; and he tha hergode æghwær be tham suth riman; and eac yfel worhton.

\* Elfric was either at Winchester this year, or had his information from thence.

† A man possessed of *three hundred and ten hides*, to find a galley or skiff; and a man possessed of *eight hides* only, to find a helmet and breast-plate, (*Mr. Ingram*).—*Three hundred hides*. a ———; *ten hides*, a skiff; *eight hides*, cassis and lorica, (*Gibson*).

Tha cydde man into thære scyp-fyrde thæt hy man æathe be-faran mihte, gif man ymbe beon wolde. Tha genam se Brihtric him-to hund-eahtatig scypa and thohte thæt he him micles wordes worcan sceolde thæt he Wulfnoth *cuonne oththe deadne* begytan sceolde: ac tha hi thider-weard wæron, tha com him swilc wind ongear swilce nan man ær ne ge-munde; and tha scipo ealle to-beorst, and to-thærsc; and on land aweorp: and com se Wulfnoth sona, and tha scipo for bærende. Tha this cuth wæs to tham othrum scypum thær se cyng wæs hu tha othre geferdon wæs, tha swilc hit eall rædles wære; and ferde se cyning him ham, and tha ealdormenn, and tha heah-witan, and forlæton thone scypo thus leotlice, and thæt folc tha thær on tham scypon wæron: feredon tha scypo eft to *Lundenne*, and læhton ealles theodscypes ge-swinc thus leotlice fur-wurthan; and næs se sige ne betera the eall angel-cyn to-hoped. Tha thæs scyp-ferde thus ge-endod wæs, tha com sona æfter hlafmæssan se un-ge-metlica un-frith here the we hetton Thurkilles here to Sandwic, [and ne gyrndon\*]; and ealle East Centingas frith with thone here genamon; and him ge-sealdon threo thusend punda; and se here tha sona æfter tham wende abutan oth he com to Wiht-lande; and thær æghwær on *Suth-Seaxum*, and on *Hamtunscyre*, and eac on *Beorroc-scyre* hergodon and bærndon swa heora gewuna is. Tha het se cyning abannan ut ealra theodscipe thæt man, ælce healfe, with hy healdan sceolde; ac theah-hwæthere hi ferdon loca hu hi woldon. Tha, sume-sithe hæfde se cyning hi fore-gan mid ealre fyrde tha hi to scypon woldon, and eall folc gearwe wæs him on to-fonne; ac hit wæs tha thuruh *Eadric* ealdorman ge-læt; swa hit gyt æfre wæs. Tha, æfter scs Martines mæssan, tha ferdon hi eft ongear to *Cent*, and namon

\* Tiberius B. 1.

him winter setl on Temesan; and lifdon him of East-Seaxum, and of tham scirum the thær nearst wæron, on twa healfum Temese; and oft hi on tha burh Lundenne fuhton; (ac se Gode lof that heo *gyt* gesund stent, and hi theær næfre yfel geferdon). Tha, æfter middan wintra, tha namon hi anne up-gang up thurh *Ciltern*; and swa to Oxenæforda; and *tha burh* for-bærndon; and namon hit tha, on twa healfa Temese, to-scype-weard. Tha, ge-warnede man hi, that thær wæs fyrd æt Lundenne ongean-hi, wendon him tha ofer æt Stane; and thus ferdon ealre thone winter; and that *lencten* wæron him on Cent, and betton heora scypo.

xx. Her, on thissum geare, *com* se fore-sprecena here, ofer Eastron, to East-Englum; and wendon up æt Gypeswic, and eodon anreces thær hi geacedon Ulfcytel mid his fyrd: this wæs on tham dæge *prima assensio Domini*; and tha sona flugon *East-Engle*; tha stod *Granta-bric-scire* fæstlice ongean. Thær wæs of-slegen *Æthelstan*, thæs cynges *athum*, and *Oswig*, and *his* sunu; and *Wulf*, *Leofwines* sunu; and *Eadwig*, *Ælfices* brother; and *feala othra godra thægna*; and *folces* unrim. Thone fleam astealde ærest Thurcytel myran-heafod: and tha Denan ahton wæl-stowe geweald; and thær wurdon gehorsode; and syththan ahton East-Engla ge-weald, and thone eard thry monthas hergedon and bærndon. Gefurthton on tha wildan fennas hi ferdon; and menn and yrfe hi slogon and bærndon geond tha fennas. And *Theodford* hi for-bærndon; and *Grantabrycg*; and sythan wendon eft suthweard into *Temese*; and ridon tha gehorsedan-men ongean tha scipo. And sythan eft hrædlice wendon west-weard on *Oxenaforda* scire; and thanan to Buckingham scire: and swa and-lang *Usan* oth hi comon to Bedan-forda; and swa forth oth Temesan-ford: and 4 bærndon swa hi ge-ferdon. Wendon tha eft to

scipon mid heora here-huthe. And *thonne hi to scipon* ferdon, *Thonne sceolde fyrð ut eft*. Ongean, that *hi up* woldon, *Thonne ferde seo fyrð, ham*. And *thonne hi wæron* *be-easton*, *Thonne heold man fyrde be-westan* : and *thonne hi wæron be-suthan*, *Thonne wæs ure fyrde be-northan*. Thonne bead man ealle witan to cynge ; and man thonne rædon sceolde, hu man thisne eard werian sceolde. Ac theah hwæt man rædde, thæt *ne stod* fruthon anne monath. Æt nextan, næs nan heafod-man thæt fyrde gaderian wolde : ac ælc fleah swa he meast mihte. Ne furthon nan scir nolde othre ge-leastan æt nextan. Tha æt-foran scs Andreas mæssan-dæg tha com se here to *Hamtune*, and thæt port sona for-bærndon, and thær namon abutan swa mycel swa hi-sylf woldon : and thanon wendon ofer Temese into *West-Seazum* :\* and swa with Canegan-merces ; and thæt eall for-bærndon. Tha hi swa feor ge-gan heafdon swa hi tha woldon, comon tha to tham middan-wintre to heora scypon .

MXI. Her on thisum geare sende se Cyng and his *Witan* to tham here, and georndon frithes ; and him gafol and metsunge beheton *with-tham* the hi heora her-gunge ge-swicon :—Hi hæfdon tha ofer-gan *East-Engle*, and *East-Seare*, and *Middel-Seare*, and *Osenaford*, and *Granta-brycg*, and *Heortford-scire*, *Buccyngaham-scire*, and *Bedanford-scire*, and healfe *Huntadunscire*, and mycel on *Hamtun-scire* : and *be-suthan Temese* ealle *Centingas*, and *Suth-Seare*, and *Heastingas*, and *Suthrige*, and *Bearrucscire*, and *Hamtunscire*, and mycel on *Wiltunscire* :—Eall thas ungesæltha us ge-lumpon thurh unrædas thæt man nolde him to-timan *gafol beadan*, oththe *with-ge-feohtun* : ac thonne he mæst to-yfele gedon hæfdon. Thonne nam man *grith* and *frith* mid hi :—And, na the

\* Caning's Marsh—Cannings, Wilts.—*Ingram*.

læs, for-eallum thisum *grithe* and *frithe*, and *gafol*-hi ferdon æghwider, flocc-mælum;—and hergodon; and ure earme folc ræpton and slogon. And on thisum geare, betweox *nativitas sce marie* and *sce michaheles mæssan*, hi ymbe-sæton *Cantwaraburh*: and thær-intó comon thurh syru-wrencas forþam *Ælfmar* hi be-cyrde the se arcebisceop *Ælfeah* ær ge-nerode his life. And hi thær genamon thone arcebisceop *Ælfeah*; and *Ælfwearð*, cynges gerefa; and *Leofrune*, abbatissa; and *Godwine*, bisceop; (and *Ælfmar*, abbot hi læton aweg). And hi thær ge-namon inne ealle tha gehadodan men, and weras and wif thæt wæs una-secgendlic, (ænigum menn,) hu mycel thæs folces wæs;—and on thære Byrig siththan wæron swa lange swa hi woldon; and, tha hi hæfdon tha burh eal asmeade, wendon him tha to scypon; and læddon thone arcebisceop mid him. [Wæs tha ræpling—se the ær wæs—heafod angelcynnes—and cristen domes.—Thær man meahte—tha geseon ermthe,—thær man oft—ær geseah blisse.—On thære earman byrig—thanon us com—ærest cristendom—and bliss for Gode—and for weorulde.\*] And hi hæfdon thone arcebisceop mid him swa lango oth thone timan the hi hine gemartredon.

MXII. Her on thissum geare com *Eadric*, ealdorman, and ealle tha *yldestan witan* (ge-hadode and læwede) Angelcynnes to *Lunden-byrig*, to foran tham Eastron; (wæs Easter-dæg tha on tham *datarum idus Aprilis*;) and hi thær tha swa lang wæron oth thæt gafol eall gelæst wæs, ofer tham Eastron;—thæt wæs eahta and feowertig thousand punda. Tha on thone Sæternes dæg tha wearth se here swythe gestyred ongean thone bisceop [ss. *Ælfeah*] forþam tha he nolde heom nan feoh behaten. And he

\* If this poetry is Elfric's, (and *not foisted in*,) he probably wrote more. But I doubt it.



forbead thæt man nan thing with him syllan ne moste. Wæron hi eac swythe druncene forþam thære was gebroht win, suthan :—Genamon tha hi thone bisceop & læddon hine to heora hustinge on thone sunnan æfen, *octabas pasche* ; tha wæs xiii *kl. Mai* ; & hine tha thær bysmorlice acwylmdon ; ostorfedon mid banum and mid hrythera heafdum . and sloh hine thær, an heora, mid anre æxe-yre on thæt heafod, thæt he, mid tham dynte, nyther asah : and his halige blod on tha eorþan feoll & his haligan sawle to Godes rice asende ; and man thone lichaman, on mergen, ferode to Lundene : & tha bisceopas *Eadnoth*, & *Ælfhun*, & seo *berh-wara*, hine underfengon mid ealre arwyrrhnyse, & hyne bebyrigdon on *sce paules* mynstre ; and thær nu God sutelath thæs halgan martires mihta. Tha thæt gafol gelæst wæs, tha bugon to tham cyninge of tham here fif & feowertig scipa & him beheton thæt hi weldon thisne eard bealdan ; and he, hi fædan sceolde, & scrydan.

MXIII. On thæm æfteran geare the se arcebisceop wæs ge-martred se cyning gesette *Lyfinc* bisceop to Cantware byrig to thæm arcestole. And on thissum ilcan geare to-foran thæm monthe augustus com *Swegen* cyning, mid his flotan, to *Sandwic* : and wende swythe hrathe abutan *East-Englum* into *Humbran-muthan*, and swa up-weard and-lang *Trentan* oth thæt he com to *Geignesburh* : and tha sona abeah *Uhtred*, eorl, and ealle *North-Hymbre* to him ; and eall thæt folc on *Lindesige* : & sithan thæt folc of *Fifburhgum* ; and rathe, eall thæs here be-norþan *Watlinga-strate*. And him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire. Syth than he undergeat thæt eall folc him-to gebogen wæs, tha bead he thæt man sceolde his here metian and horsian ; and he tha gewende sythþan suthweard mid fulre fyrde ; & bethæte his scipa & tha gislas *Cnate*, his sunu. And sythþan he com ofer *Watling-strate*

worhton thæt mæste yfel thæt ænig here don niht. Wende tha to *Orenaforda*, and seo Burh-warū sona abeah, and gislode : and thanon to *Winceastre*, and hi thæt ilce dydon. Wendon tha thanon to *Lundene* ; & mycel his folces adraneg on Temese, fortham the hi nanre brice ne capton. Tha, the he to thære byrig com, tha nolde se burhwarū bugan ; ac heoldon mid fullan wige ongean, *forþan thær was inne se cýning Æthelred & Thurcyl mid hine*. Tha wende *Swoegen* cyng thanon to *Weallingaforda*, and swa ofer *Temese*, west-weard, to *Bathan* ; and sæt thær mid his fyrde : and com *Æthelmar* ealdorman thider and tha *Westenra Thegenas* mid him, and bugon ealle to *Swoegene* and gislodon. And tha he eal thus gefaren hæfde, wende tha northweard to his scypum : and eall theod-scipe hine hæfde tha *for fulre cýning* ; & seo burh-warū, æfter tham, on *Lundenne* beah & gislode ; forthan hi on-dreddon thæt hi he fordon wolde.—Beað tha *Swoegen* ful gild and metsunge to his here thone winter. And Thurcyl beað thæt ylce to tham here the læg æt *Grenawic* : & butan-thæm hi gehergodon swa oft swa hi woldon. Tha ne dolite nathær thisse leode, ne *suthan*, ne *northan*. Tha wæs se cýning sume hwile mid tham flotan the on Temese læg ; & seo hlæfdige wende tha ofer sæ to hire brother *Ricarde* ; and *Ælfrise*, abbot of *Burh* mid hire : and se cyng sende *Ælfrun* bisceop mid tham *Æthelingum*, *Eadwearde* & *Ælfrede* ofer sæ, thæt he hi bewitan sceolde.\*

\* And tha hwile the seo læfdige mid hire brothor wæs be-geondan sæ *Ælfsige*, abbot of *Burh*, tha thær wæs mid hire, for to thone mynstre the is gehaten *Boneual*, thære sancte *Florentines* lichama læg. Fand thære ærm stede, ærm abbot, and ærm *muneces*,—fortham the hi for-hergode wæron. Bohte tha thær æt thone abbot and æt the *muneces* sce *Florentines* lichaman, eall buton the heafod

And se cyning wende tha fram tham flotan to tham middan-wintre to *Wiht*-lande, & was thær tha tid ; & , æfter thære tide, wende ofer tha sæ to *Ricarde* ; & was thær mid him oth thone byre tha *Swegen* dead wearth.

“ *MXIV.* Her on thissum geare *Swegen* cyng ge-endode his dagas to candel-mæssan *III nonar. Februarii* :\* and se flota tha eall gecuron *Cnut* to cyninge. Tha geræddon tha witan ealle, gehadode, & gelæwede, angel cynnes, thæt man after tham cyninge *Æthelrede* sende ; & cwædon thæt him nan hlaford leofre nære thonne heora ge-cynde hlaford, gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde thonne he ær dyde. Tha sende se cyng his suna *Eadweard* hider, mid his *ærend-racan* ; & het gretan ealre his leodscipe & cwæth thæt he heom hold-hlaford beon wolde ; and ælc thæra thinga betan the hi ealle ascunodon : and ælc thæra thinga for-gyfon beon sceolde the him *gedon* oththe *cwæden* wære, *with-tham-the* hi ealle anrædlice, butan swicdome to him ge-cyrdon. *And man tha fulne freondscipe*

to v hundred punda : and tha the he ongean com, tha offrede hit *Crist* and see *Peter*.

The above is in the *Peterborough* copies only ; and they contain *nothing else* in these years which is not in *all* the copies of *Elfric's Annals*. This fact, together with the peculiar *orthography*—and the use of *sancte* for *halga*, leads us to attribute it to *Remaldus*. It is a *forgery* of course ; but deceived abbot *John*, and *all the Peterborough writers*. In his *Verses*, *Remaldus* is less exact, and does not mention the price.

\* And thy ilcan geare man hadode *Ælfrwig* bisceop on *Foferwic* to *Lundenburh* on Sca Juliana Mæsse-dæg. This passage is in no other copy than the *Worcester* (*Tiberius, B. IV.*) It is a manifest interpolation of the *Worcester monks*. (Vide p. 100.)

*ge-fæstnode, mid worde and mid wedde; on ægthre healfe:* and æfre ælcne *Dæniscne* cyning ut-lah of Engla-land ge-cwædon.

Tha com *Æthelred* cyning innan tham lenctene-tyd *ham*, to his agenre theode: and he glædlice fram heom eallum on-fengon wæs. And tha, syththan *Swegen* dead wæs sætt *Cnut* mid his here on *Gegnesburh* oth tha Eastron; & gewearth him, & tham folc on *Lindesige* anes thæt hi hine *horsian* sceoldon; & syththan, ealle ætgædere faran & hergian. Tha com se cyning *Æthelred* mid fulre fyrde thider, ær hi gearwe wæron, to *Lindesige*: & man tha hergode and bærnðe and sloh eall thæt man-cynn thæt man aræcan mihte. And se *Cnut*, *Swegenes* sunu, gewende him aweig ut, mid his flotan; & wearth thæt earne folc thus beswicen thurh hine:—And wende tha suthweard oth thæt he com to *Sandwic*: & let man don thær up tha gislas the his fæder gesealde wæron; & cearf-of heora handa, & earan; & heora nosa. And, butan eallum thissum yfelum se Cyng het gyldan tham here the on *Greenwic* læg xxi thusend punda. And on thissum geare on sçe *Michael*es mæsse-æfen com thæt mycle sæ-flod geond wide thisne eard; and earn swa feor up swa næfre ær ne dyde; and adrencte fela tuna; and man-cynnes, unari-medlic ge-tel.

MXV. On thissum geare wæs thæt mycle gemot on *Ox-naforda*. And thær *Eadric* ealdorman beswac *Siferth* & *Morcar*, tha yldostan thegenas into *Seofon-burhgum*: bepæhte hi into his bure; & hi man thær-inne of-sloh ungerisenlice. And se cyng tha nam ealle heora æhta: & het niman *Siferthes* lafe & gebringan binnan *Maldelmesbyrig*. Tha, æfter lytlum fæce, ferde *Eadmund* ætheling to; and genam thæt wif ofer thæs cynges wil, and hæfde him to wife. Tha, to foran *nativitas Sce Mariæ* ferde se ætheling thanon westan north into *fif-burhgum*: & gerad

sona ealle *Siferthes* are, & *Morcares* : & thæt folc eall him to beah, & tha on tham ilcan timan com *Cnut* cyng to *Sandwic* ; & wende tha sona abutan *Cent-land*, into *West Seaxum*, oth he com to *From-muthan*, & hergode tha on *Dorsætum*, and on *Wiltunscire*, & on *Sumersæton*. Tha læg se cyng seoc, æt *Cosham* : And tha gaderede *Eadric* ealdorman fyrde ; and se *Etheling*, *Eadmund*, be *northan*. Tha hi to gædere comon tha wolde se ealdorman beswican thone ætheling, [*Eadmund*, ac he ne mihte.\*] And hi to-hwurfon, tha, butan gefeohte, and rimdon heora feondum : and *Eadric* ealdorman aspeon tha feowertig scipa fram tham cyninge ; and beah tha to *Cnute* : and *West Seaxe* bugon, & gislodon, & *horsedon* thone here : and he wæs thær, tha, oth midne-winter.

XXVI. Her on thissum geare, com *Cnut*, cyning, mid his here, clx scipa ; and *Eadric*, ealdorman mid, ofer *Temese* into *Mercan* æt *Cræcilade* : and wendon tha to *Wæringwicscire* innon thære middan-wintres-tide, and bærdon and slogon eall thæt hi to-comon. Tha ongan se *Eadmund* Ætheling to gadregenne fyrde : Tha se fyrd gesomned wæs, tha ne on-hagode hy thær-to, butan thæt wære, thæt se cyng thær-mid wære, and hi hæfdon thære burh-ware fultum on *Lundene* : Ge-swicon tha thære fyrding ; and ferde ælc man him *ham*. Tha, æfter thære tyde, tha bead man eft fyrde, be fullum wite, thæt ælc man the fere wære forthwende : and man sende to tham cyninge to *Lundene*, and beadon hine, thæt he com ongear tha fyrde mid tham fultume the he ge-gaderian mihte. Tha hi ealle to somne comon, tha ne be-heold nan thing the ma the hit oftor ær dyde. Tha cydde man tham cyninge thæt hine man beswican wolde tha the him on fultume beon sceoldon ; for-let tha, tha fyrde and cyrde him eft to *Lundenne*. Tha rad se ætheling *Eadmund* to

\* From the copy *Laud*.

*North-Hymbran* to *Uhtrede* eorle; and wende ælc man thæt hi woldon fyrde somnian ongeon *Cnut* cyning. Tha fyrdodon hi into *Staffordscire*, and into *Scrobber-byrig*, and to *Lagceastre* and hergodon hi on heora healfe, and *Cnut*, on his. And *Cnut* wende him tha ut thurh *Buc-cynghamscire* into *Beadanfordscire* and thanon to *Hamtunscire* and swa into *Hamtunescire* and-lang *Fennes* to *Stanforda* and, tha, into *Lincolnes-scire*;—Thanon tha into *Snotinghamscire*, and swa to *North-Hymbran* to *Eofer-wie-weard*. Tha *Uhtred* geahsode this tha for-let he his hergunge and efest northweard and beah tha for nyd and eall *North-Hymbra* mid him; and he gislode; and hine man theah-hwæthere of-sloh, [thurh *Eadrices* ræd, ealdormannes\*] and *Thurcytel*, *Nafen* sunu, mid him. And tha æfter tham se cyng gesette *Yric* into *North-Hymbran* to eorl, eal-swa *Uhtred* wæs: and syththan wende him *suth-weard* othres weges; eal-swa be-*westan*: And com tha eall se here to-foran tham *Eastran* to scypon; and se ætheling *Eadmund* wende to *Lundenne* to his fæder. And tha, æfter *Eastron* wende se cyng *Cnut* mid eallum his scypum to *Lundenne-weard*. Tha ge-lamp hit thæt se cyning *Æthelred* forthferde, ær tha scipo comon: He ge-endode his dagas on *see Georgius masse-dag*, æfter micclum ge-swinc and earfothnyssum his lifes. And tha æfter his ende ealle tha *witan* the on *Lundene* wæron, and seo *burhwaru* gecuron *Eadmund* to cynges: and his rice he heardlice werode tha hwyle the his tima wæs. Tha comon tha scipo to *Grenawic* to tham gang-dagum; and binnon lytlum fære, wendon to *Lundene*: and hi dulfon tha ane mycele dice on tha *suth* healfe, and drogon heora scipa on west healfe there brycge; and bedicodon syththan tha burh utan, thæt nan mann ne

\* *Tiberius*, B. I.

miht ne *inn* ne *ut* : aud oft rædlice hi on tha burh fuhton ; ac hi heom heardlice with-stodon. Tha wæs *Eadmund* cyng, ær tham, gewend ut, and ge-rad tha *West-Seaxan*, and him beah eall thæt folc to. And rathe æfter tham he gefeaht with thone here æt *Peonnan* with *Gillingaham* : and other gefeoht he gefeaht æfter middan sumera æt *Sceorstan*, and thær mycel wæl feoll on ægthre healfe and tha *theras* him-sylfe to eodon on tham gefeohte : and *Eadric* Ealdorman and *Ælmar* Deorling wæron tham here on fultume ongear *Eadmund*, cyng : And tha gega-derade he, *thridan siðe*, fyrde ; and ferde to *Lundene* eal be northan *Temese*, and swa ut thurh *Cleighangran* : and tha *burhware* ahredde, and thone here aflymde to heora scipon. And tha wæs ymbe twa niht thæt se cyning gewende ofer æt *Brentforda* and tha with thone here gefeaht. And se cyning wende æfter tham to *West-Seaxan* and his fyrde gesomnode. Tha gewende se here sona to *Lundene* ; and tha burh utan ymbe sæt ; and hyre steardlice on-feaht ægther ge be *watere*, ge be *lande*. Ac se *Al-mihtiga God* hi ahredde. Se here gewende tha, æfter tham, fram *Lundene* mid heora scipum, into *Arewan* ; and thær up foran, and ferdon on *Myrcan* ; and slogon and bærndon swa-hwæt-swa hi ofer-foran ; swa heora gewuna is : and heom metes tilodon, and hi drifon ægther ge scipa ge heora drafu into *Medewæge*. Tha gesomnode *Eadmund*, cyng, *feorðan siðe*, ealle Engla theode ; and ferde ofer *Temese* æt *Brentforda* and ferde innan *Cent* : and se here him fleah beforan, mid hira hor-sum, into *Sceupige* ; and se cyng of-sloh heora swa feala swa he of-faran mihte. And *Eadric*, ealdorman, gewende, tha, thone cyng ongear æt *Æglesford* : (næs nan mare unræd ge-red thonne se wæs.) Se here gewende eft up on *East-Seaxan*, and ferde into *Myrcan*, and fordyde eall thæt he oferferde. Tha se cyng geaxode thæt se here

uppe was. Tha gesomnode he *fiftan siðe*, ealle Engla theode; and ferde him æt hindan, and of-ferde hi innan East-Seaxan æt thære dune the mann hæð *Assandun*, and thær togædere *heardlice* fengon. Tha dyde *Eadric*, ealdorman (swa-swa he oftor ær dyde), astealde thone fleam *ærest*, mid *Magesæton*; and swa aswac his cyne-hlaford and ealle theode angel-cynnes. Thær hæfde *Cnut* siges; and gefeahht him-with, ealle Engla-theode. Tha wearth thær of-slægen *Eadnoth*, bisceop; and *Wul-sige*, abbot; and *Ælfric*, ealdorman; and *Godwine*, ealdorman on Lindesige; and *Ulfcytel*, on East-Englum; and *Æthelweard* *Æthelsiges* sunu ealdormannes: and eall seo dugoth of angel-cynnes theode thær wearth fordon. Tha, æfter thissum gefeohte, gewende *Cnut* cyng upp mid his here to *Gleaweceastre-scire*, thær he geherde sec-gan thæt se cyng wæs, *Eadmund*. Tha gerædde *Eadric* ealdormann and tha *Witan* the thær gegaderade wæron thæt tha cyningas sehte namon heom betweenan: and hi gislas geworhton: and begen tha cyningas comon togædere æt *Olanige* with *Deorhyrste*; and wordon *feolagan* and *wed-brothru*: and heora freondscipe thær gefæstnodon ægther ge mid *wedde*, ge eac mid *athe*: and thæt gylde ge-setton with thone here: and hi tohwurfon tha mid thissum *sehte*, and feng tha *Eadmund* cyng to *West-Seaxan*; and *Cnut* to *Myrcan* and to tham *North-dele*. Tha, to *Scs Andreas* mæssan, forthferde se cyng *Eadmund*, and is byrged mid his ealdan-fæder *Eadgare* on *Glæstingabyrig*."

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Here end *Elfric's Annals*, with the downfall of the *Saxon* monarchy: a very natural and striking conclusion:—



For though in all the copies there is the following entry in 1017, (after which they begin to differ materially,) yet I think it is not *Elfric's*. I doubt even whether the account of King *Edmund's* death be his.<sup>1</sup> It is said he was murdered by *Edric*.

1017. Feng *Cnut* Cyning to eall angel-cynnes-ric; and hit to-dæld on feower: HIM SYLFUM, *West-Saxum*; and THYRCILLE, *East-Englan*; and EADRIC, *Myrcan*; and YRIC, *North Hymbran*. And on thissum geare wæs eac *Eadric*, ealdorman, of-slagen on Lundene; and *Northman*, *Leofwines* sunu, ealdormannes; and *Æthelweard*, *Æthelmares* sunu thæs grætan; and *Brihtic*, *Ælfeges* sunu on defenanscyre.

Both the copies, *Tiberius B. I.* and *Tiberius B. IV.*, make mention of *Ethelward* again. He was *Elfric's* patron at one time; though he lived to be a traitor.

xxx. On Eastron wæs mycel ge-mot æt Cyren-ceastre: tha ge-utlagode man *Æthelweard*, ealdorman [*Tiberius B. IV.*] and *Eadwig*, ceorla-cynge [*Tiberius B. I.*].

# **WULSTAN'S ANNALS.**



## INTRODUCTION

TO

## WULSTAN'S ANNALS.

WE have here given a transcript of the *Worcester* MS., Tiberius, B. IV., as far as it goes; to which we have added from the copy Land the years 1085 and 1086, because they bear evident marks of the same (i. e.) *Wulstan's* hand.

Unless we are right in believing that *Wulstan* was the author, (who was educated, as we have seen, at *Peterborough*, and a monk *there*,)—it would be hard to account for the writer's intimate acquaintance with *Peterborough* history.

And if he was but an *ordinary* monk of the *former* church, his knowledge of the affairs of the *latter*, however minute and accurate at first,

would be soon spent and disappear. This is not the case with our annalist, who is well informed to the last. A particular reason may be given (for instance) of his frequent mention of Egelric and Agelwinus.

*Aldhun*, bishop of *Durham*, dying in 1020, the canons of *Durham* elected *Edmund*, one of their number, for his successor. *Canutus* confirmed the election; and *Edmund*, having taken a monk's habit, was consecrated at *Winchester* by *archbishop Wulstan*.

On his road from *Winchester* to take possession of his bishopric, he made a short circuit to visit *Elfric*; and when he took his leave, he requested that he might carry with him some one of his monks. The abbot consented, and a monk was selected whose name was *Egelric*. This *Egelric* was eminently skilled in monastic observances: he was in constant attendance upon *Edmund* ever after, and taught him all the ceremonies enjoined by Saint Benedict.

*Edmund* dying in 1042, *Edred* (who, says our author, was *not* a monk) unduly obtained the bishopric: he died, however, ten months afterwards, and was succeeded by *Egelric*. And *Egelric*, after fifteen years' enjoyment, *resigned* the see in favour of his brother *Agelwinus*, and returned to the monastery from whence he came.—(Flor. Wig., Sim. Dun.,—Hugo.)

These bishops, *Egelric* and *Agelwinus*, were men of great note at the time of the Conquest, and were two of *William's* principal victims: but they are more particularly noticed in these annals, because of Wulstan's ancient connexion with them.

As an instance of the liberties which the compiler of the *Laud* permitted himself in transcribing these Annals, his version of one year, 1075, is subjoined by way of note:—good Saxon, turned to a Frenchman's taste, is a new point in philology.

As he frequently altered the structure of the sentences as well as the single words, he sometimes fell into mistakes; indeed all his alterations are for the worse, and tend both to hurt the style and endanger the sense. Their general value may be estimated by one sample as well as a hundred:—in the year 1079, after the words *and his hors*, he adds *the he on sæt*.

*Malmesbury*, in his *Life of Wulstan*, seems to have had in view several passages of the following Annals. Two of such references appear in the notes sub a<sup>b</sup> 1085 and 1086; others are obvious.

Wulstan's pen is visible, I think, in the years 1038, 1041, 1047, 1049, 1052, 1053, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1063, 1068, 1071, 1073, 1075, 1078.

He appears here in a very amiable light, and beyond all doubt, was a man of a free spirit. Compare with Malmesbury his encomiums upon *Aldred* and *Odo* ; also his censures of the *king's* pride, avarice, and cruelty. He carefully avoids mention of *Lanfranc*.

## WULSTAN'S ANNALS.

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xxxxiv. Forthferde Mælcolm cyng on Scotland.

xxxxv.\* Her forthferde *Cnut*, cyng, and *Harold* his sunu feug to rice; he gewat æt *Sceafstesbyri* on II. id. novbris, and hine man ferede to *Wincestre*, and thær bebyride; and *Ælfgyfe* seo hlæfdie sæt tha thær-binnan and *Harold* sæde thæt he *Cnutes* sunu wære and *Ælfgyfe* thær *Hamtunisca*; (theh hit soth nære.) He sende to and let nyman

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\* This account is materially different from that in the copies *Laud* and *Domitianus*, which is as follows:

xxxxvi. Her forthferde *Cnut* æt *Sceafstes-byrig*; and he is bebyrged on *Win-ceastre* on ealdan mynstre: and he wæs cyng ofer eall Engla-land swythe neh xx wintra. And sona æfter his for-sythe wæs ealra witena gemot on *Ornafordu*: and *Leofric* eorl and mæst ealle tha thegenas be northan Temese and tha Liths-men on Lunden gecuron *Harold* to healdes ealles Engle-landes him; (and his brother *Hardacnute the* wæs on *Denemearcon*;) and *Godwine* eorl and ealle tha yldestan menn on West-



of hire ealle tha betstan gærsaman the *Cnut* cyng ahte : and heo sæt theah forth thær-binnan tha hwile the heo moste.

MXXXVI. Her com *Ælfred* se unsceththiga ætheling *Ethelredes* sunu cynges hider inn ; and wolde to his *modor* the on *Wincestre* sæt. ac thæt ne ge-thafodon [Godwine eorl ne othre men] tha the micel weoldon on thisan lande, forthan hit hleothrade tha swythe to *Harolde* theah hit un-riht wære. Tha let he [Godwine] hine on hæft settan, and his geferan he eac for-draf : and sume mislice of-sloh ; sume hi man with feo sealde ;—sume breowlice acwealde ;—sume hi man bende ;—and eac sume blend and heanlice hættode. Ne wearth dreorilice dæd gedon on thisan earde siththan *Dene* coman and her fryth naman. Nu is to ge-lyfanne to than leofan *Gode* thæt hi blissan blithe mid *Criste*, the wæron butan scylde earmlice acwealde. Se *Ætheling* leofode tha gyt ælc yfel man him be-het oth thæt man ge-rædde thæt man hine lædde to *Elibyrig* eal swa ge-bundenne. Sona swa he lende on scype man hine blende and hine swa blindne brohte to tham munecum : and he thær wunode tha hwile the he leofode. Syththan hine man byrigde swa him wel-gebyrede, thæt wæs full weorthlice, (swa he

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Seaxon with-cwædon swa hi lengost mihton, ac hi naht na ge-speddan. And man gerædde tha thæt *Ælfgisu*, *Hardacnutes* modor, sæte on *Winceastre* mid thæs cynges hus-carlum hyra suna ; and heoldan ealle West-Seaxan him to handa ; and *Godwine* eorl wæs heora healdest mann. Sume men sædon be *Harolde* thæt he wære *Cnutes* sunu cynges and *Ælfgif* *Ælfelnes* dohtor ealdor-mannes, ac hit thuhte swythe ungeleaflic manegum mannum ; and he wæs thæh full cyng ofer eall Engla-land.

wyrthe wæs,) æt tham west ende tham stypele fulgehende on tham suth portice: seo sawul is mid Criste.

xxxxvii. Her man ge-ceas *Harold* ofer eall to Kyninge; and for-soc *Harthacnut* for thæm he wæs to lang on *Denmarcon*: and man draf ut his modor *Ælfgyfe* tha cwene, butan ælcere mildheortnesse ongean thone wal-lendon winter. And heo com tha to *Brygge*; and *Baldwine* eorle hi wel thær under-feng; and thær geheold tha hwile the hire neod wæs. And thæs geres ær forthferde *Ælf* se æthela decanus on *Eofesham*.

xxxviii. Her forthferde *Æthelnoth* arcebisceop se *godu*; and *Æthelric* bisceop on *Suth-sexan*. Se ge-wilnode to Gode thæt he hine ne lete lybban nane hwyle æfter his leofan fæder *Æthelnothe*; and he eac, binnan seofan nihton thæs, gewat: and *Brihteh* bisceop on *Wigracestre* XIII. kl. ian."

xxxix. Nil.

xl. Her swealt *Harold* cyng: and man sende æfter *Harthacnute*, to *Brygge*: wende thæt man wel dyde. And he com tha hider, mid Lx scypum, foran to middan sumera; and astealde swythe strang gyld thæt man hit un-eathe mihte acuman: thæt wæs VIII marc æt hamelan. And him wæs tha unhold eall thæt his ær gyrde: and he ne ge-fremede eac naht cynelices tha hwile the he rixode. He let dragan up thone deadan *Harold*, and hine on fenn on-sceotan.

xli. Her het *Harthacnut* hergian eall *Wygracestre* scire for his twegra *hus-carla* thingon the *that strange-gyld budon*: tha slogon thæt folc binnan porte innat tham mynstre. And thæs geres sona com *Edward* his brother on meddren fram geondan sæ, *Æthelredes* sunu cynges, the wæs ær for fela gearan of thisan gearde adryfen, and theah wæs to cynges gesworon: and he wunode tha swa on his brothor hirede tha hwile the he leofode. And on

thisan geare eac swac Harthacnut *Eadulfe*, under grythe; and he wæs wed loga. And *her man hadode Ægelric bisceop to Eoferwic on iii id. Ianuarii.*

MXLII. Her forthferde *Harthacnut* swa thæt he æt his drince stod, and færinga feoll to thære eorþan mid egeslicum anginne: ac hine tha ge-læhton the thær neh wæron: and he seothþan nan word ne ge-cwæth, ac ge-wat on VI. id iun. And eall folc ge-ceas tha *Eadward*, and underfengon hine to kyninge, eall swa him wel-ge-cynde wæs.

MXLIII. Her wæs *Eadward* gehalgod to cyng æt *Winestre* on forman easter dæg: and thæs geres, xiiii nihton ær *Andreas* mæssan, man ge-rædde than cyng thæt he rad of *Gleuocestre*, and *Leofric* eorl and *Godwine* eorl and *Sigward* eorl mid heora genge to *Winestre* on un-wær on tha *hlæfðian*; and bereafedan hi æt eallon than gærsaman the heo ahte, (tha wæron unatellendlice): forthan the heo wæs æror tham cyng hire suna swithe heard, *thæt heo him lasse dyde thon he wolde ær tham the he cyng wære*; and eac, sythþan: and leton hi thær, sithþan, binnan sittan.

MXLIV. Nil.

MXLV. Her gefor *Ælfward*, bisceop on *Landene* on VIII kl. Ag. He wæs abbot on *Eofeshamme*, ærest; and thæt mynstre wel ge-forþode tha hwile the he thær wæs: ge-wende tha to *Ramesege* and thær his lif a-læt. And *Manni* wæs to abbode ge-coren and ge-hadod on iii id. Ag. And thæs geres man draf *Gunnilde* ut thæt æthele wif *Cnutes* cynges magan; and heo sithþan sæt æt *Brycg* lange hwile; and for to *Denmarcon* sithþan.

MXLVI. Her gefor *Brihtwold* bisceop on *Wiltunescire*; and man sette *Hereman* on his setle. On tham geare ge-gagerade *Eadward* cyng mycele scyp-ferde on *Sandwic* thurh *Magnus* threatunge on *Norwægon*: ac his

gewinn and *Swegenes* on *Denmarcon* geletton thæt he her ne com.

MXLVII. Her forthferde *Lyfing* se word-snotera bisceop x kl Apr.; and he hæfde III. bisceoprices *an* on *Defenascire*; *an* on *Corn-walon*; and *an* on *Wigracestre*: tha feng *Leofric* to *Defena-scire* and to *Corn-walon* and *Aldred* bisceop to *Wigracestre*. And her man utla-gode *Osgod* Stallere; and *Magnus* ge-wann *Denmarcon*.

MXLVIII. Her wæs se stitha winter; and thæs geres forthferde *Ælfwine* bisceop on *Wincestre* and *Stigand* bisceop wæs on his setl ahasen. And ær tham, on tham, ilcan gere forthferde *Grimcytel* bisceop on *Suth-searum* and *Heca* preost feng to tham bisceop-ric. And *Swoegen* eac sende hider, bæd him fylstes ongear *Magnus*, norwega cyng, thæt man sceolde sendan I. scypa him to fultume. Ac hit thuhte un-ræd eallum folce: and hit wearth tha gelet thurh thæt the *Magnus* hæfde micelne scyp-cræft. And he tha à ytte tha *Swoegen* ut; and mid myclan man-slihte thæt land gewann: and *Dena* him mycel feoh gyldon, and hine to cyng underfengon; and thi ilcan gear *Magnus* forthferde.

MXLIX. Her com eft *Swein* to *Denamarcon*; and *Harold* for to *Norwegum*, *Magnus* fædera, syththan *Magnus* dead wæs; and *Normen* hine underfengon. And he sende ymb fryth hider to lande; and *Swoegen* eac sende of *Denmarcon*, and bæd *Eadward* cyng scyp-fultumes, thæt sceolde beon æt læstan II scypa, ac eall folc with-cwæth; and her wæs eac eorð-styrung on kl. Maii on manegum stowum; on *Wygracestre*, and on *Wic*, and on *Deorby*, and *elles-ge-hwær*; and eac wæs swythe mycel man-cwealm and orf-cwealm; and eac thæt wylde-fyr on *Deorby-scire* mycel yfel dyde and ge-hwær-elles.

ML. On thisan gear se *Casere* ge-gaderode unarimede fyrd ongear *Baldwine* of *Brygge* thurh thæt he bræc

tha *palentan* æt *neomagon*, and eac fela oðra unthanca the he him dyde : Seo fyrde wæs unarimedlice the he ge-gaderod hæfde. Tha wæs se *papa* on and se *patriarcha* and fela oðra mæra mauna of ge-hwilcum leodscypum. He sende eac to *Eadwarde* cynge and bæd hine scyptuimes, thæt he ne gethafode thæt he ne æt burste on wætere : and he for tha to *Sandwic*, and læg thær mid myclum scyp-hera forþ thæt se *Casere* hæfde of *Baldwine* eall thæt he wolde. Thær com eac *Swegen* eorl the for ær of thisan lande to *Denmarcon* and thær for-worhte hine with *Denum* : he com hider mid hiwunge cwæth thæt he wolde eft bugan to tham cynge ; and *Beorn* eorl him ge-het thæt he him on fylste beon wolde. Tha, sith-than thæs *Caseres* seht wæs and *Baldwines*, foron fela scypa ham ; and se kyng be-laf Bæstan æt *Sandwic* mid feawum scypum, and *Godwine* eorl eac for mid XLII scypum fram *Sandwic* to *Peuenesea*, and *Beorn* eorl him for mid. Tha cyththe man tham cynge thæt *Osgod* lage on *Ulpe*, mid XXXIX scypon. And se cyng tha sende æfter tham scypum the he of-sendan mihte the ær ham wendon. And *Osgod* fette his wif on *Brygge* ; and wendon eft ongean mid VI scypum and *tha oðre* foron on *Suth-sexe* to *Eadulfus-næsse*, and thær hearne dydon ; and wendon eft to scypon ; and heom com tha strang wind to, swa thæt hi wæron ealle forfarene, buton feower, *tha* man of-sloh begeondan sæ. On tham the *Godwine* eorl, and *Beorn* eorl lagon on *Peuenesea* tha com *Swein* eorl and bæd *Beorn* eorl mid facne, the wæs his *eames suna*, thæt he his gefera wære to tham cynge to *Sandwic*, and his wisa with hine gebette : he wende tha for thære sibbe mid threom geforum mid him ; and he hine lædde tha toward *Bosham*, thær his scipu lagon : and hine tha man ge-bande and to scypa lædde. Wende tha thanon mid him to *Derta-muthan*, and hine thær het slean, and deope be-

delfan : hine man funde eft and ferede hine to *Wincestre* and byrigde with *Cnut* cyng his eam. Lytle ær than tha men of *Hastinga-ceastre* and thær-abutan gewunnou his twa scypa mid heora scypan, and tha men ealle of-slogon ; and tha scypa brohton to *Sandwic* to than cynges : ehta scypa he hæfde ær he *Beorn* be-swice, syththan hine for-leton ealle butan twam. On tham ylcan geare comon upp on *Wylyse Axa* of *Yrlande* xxxvi scypa ; and thær-abutan hearmas dydon mid *Gryfinnes* fultume thæs *wælican cynges* ; man gegaderade tha folc to-geanes,—*thær wæs eac Ealdred bishop mid*. Ac hi hæfdon to lytelne fultum and hi comon un-wær on heom on ealne ær-ne mergen and fela godra manna thær of-slogon and tha othre æt-burston forth *mid than bisceope*. This wæs gedon on IIII. kl. aug. Thæs geares forth ferde *Eadnoth* se goda bisceop on *Ornaford scire*, and *Oswig* abbot on *Thornege* and *Wulfnoth* abbot on *Westmynstre* ; and *Ulf* preost wæs geset tham bisceoprice to hyrde the *Eadnoth* hæfde ; and he wæs syththan of adryfon fortham the he he ge-fremede naht biscoplices thær-on, swa thæt us sceamath hit nu mare to tellanne and *Sigward* bisceop gefor, Se ligeth on *Abbandune*. And her man halgode thæt micele mynstre æt *Remys*. Thær wæs se papa *Leo*, and se *Casere* ; and mycelne *Sinoth* thær hæfdon embe *godes* theowdomi. [Thone *Sinoth* fore-sætt scs *Leo* Papa.] Hit is earforth to witane thara biscoppa the thær-to comon and thara abbuda : and heonon of-lande wæron twegen gesende, of sce *Agustine*, and of *Rammesege*.\*

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\* The events of this year are assigned to the year 1046 in the copy *Laud*, and in the copy *Domitian* to 1048. The account in those copies differs from *Wulstan's*, and will serve to explain it.

Her on thisum geare wæs se mycela synoth æt sce

MLI.\* On thisan geare gefor *Eadsie* arcebisceop on Cantwarebyri. And se cyng sealde *Rotbearde* than *freocyscan* the ær was bisceop on *Landene*; and hit was eft of him genumen ær he gehadode wære, and *Hereman* bisceop and *Ealdred* bisceop foron to Rome.

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*Remei.* Thær was on *Leo* se papa and se arcebisceop of *Burgundia* and se arcebisceop of *Bysincum* and se arcebisceop of *Treueris* and se arcebisceop of *Remis* and manig wis mann thær-to ge hadode ge læwede. And *Edward* cyng sende thider *Dudoce* bisceop and *Wylfric* abbot of Sce Augustine and *Elfwine*, abbot to thi that hi sceolden tham cyng cythan hwæt thær to Xpendome gecoren wære. And on this ylcan geare ferde *Eadward* cyng ut to *Sandwic* mid mycclam scip-here; and com *Swegen* eorl [Godwinessunu eorles, *Cod Cot.*] in, mid vii scipon to *Bosham* and grithode with thone cyng. And behet man him thæt he moste wurthe ælc thæra thinga the he ær ahte. Tha with-læg *Harold* eorl his brothor and *Beorn* eorl thæt he ne moste beon nan thæra thinga wurthe the se cyng him geunnen hæfde: ac sette man him iv nihta grith to his scipon. Tha wearth hit under tham thet tham cynges com word thæt unfrith scipa lægen be westan and hergodon. Tha ge *Godwine* eorl west onbuton mid thes cynges ii scipum (tham *anan* steorde *Harold* eorl, and tham *othran* *Tostig* his brothor;) and landes-manna scipa xlii. Tha scyfte man *Harold* eorl up thæs cynges scype the *Harold* eorl ær steorde: tha gewendon hi west to *Peuenesca*, and lægen thær weder-fæste. Tha, thæs binnon ii dagum, tha com *Swegen* eorl thider, and spec with his fæder and with *Beorn* eorl the thar was mid *Godwine*, and he bed *Beorn* thæt he sceolde faran mid him totham

\* 1050, *Joss.*

MLII.\* Her forthferde *Ælfric* arcebisceop on *Eoferwic* swithe arwyrthe wes and wis. And on than ylcan geare alede *Eadward* cyng that here-gyld that *Ethelred* cyng ær astealde; that was on tham nigon and thrittigoþan geare

cyng to *Sandwic*, and fylstan him to thæs cynges freond-scipe, and he thæs tithode. Gewendon heom tha *swyðe* hi woldon to tham cyng. Tha, amang them the hi ridon tha bæd *Swegen* hine thet he sceolde faran mid him to his scipon; and tealde that his sciperes woldon wendon fram him buton he the rathor come. Hi gewendon tha begen thær his scipu lægen. Tha hi thyder comon tha bæd *Swegen* eorl hine that he sceolde gewendon mid him to scipe and he for-weornde swithe swa lange oth his sciperes gefengon hine and wurpon hine on thone bat, and bundon hine, and reowan to scipe, and dydon hine thær-on. Tugon tha up heora segel and urnon west to *Ara-muthan*, and hæfdon hine mid heom oth that hi of-slogon hine; and namon thone lichaman and bebyrgedon innan anre cyrican. And comon tha his freond and litsmen of *Lundene* and namon hine up and feredon hine to *Winceastre* to ealdan mynstre, and he is thær byrged with *Cnut* cyng his eam. And *Swegen* gewende tha east to *Baldewines* lande and sæt thær ealne winter on *Brygge* mid his fullan grithe.

\* 1051, *Joss*. The following account of the events of this year from the copy *Laud* (where they are assigned to 1048) should be compared with *Wulstan's*. [There is an abridged account in the copy *Domitian* under date of 1050.]

Her on thisum geare *Eadward* cing gesette Rodbyrd on *Lundene* to arcebisceope to Cant-wara-byrig on *Lengtene*. And thæs sylfan *Lentenes* he for to *Rome* æfter



thæs the he hit ongunnon hæfde thæt gyld, ge-drehte ealle engla-theode on swa langum fyrste swa hit bufan her awriten is, thæt wæs æfre æt forau othrum gyldum the man myslice geald, and men mid mænig fealdlice drehte.

his pallium. And se cyng geaf thet bisceop-ricc on Lundene Sparhafoc abbot of Abbandune and se cyng geaf thæt abbod-ricc of Abbandune Rothulfe *biscope his mage*.\* Tha com se arcebisceop fram Rome ane dæge ær scs Petrus mæsse-æfene, and he gesæt his arcebisceop-stol æt Xpes cyrcean ou scs Petrus mæsse-dæg. And sona thæs to tham cyng gewænde. Tha com Sparhafoc abbot to him mid thæs cynges ge-write *and insegle*† to than thet he hine hadian sceolde to biscope into Lundene. Tha with-cweth se arcebisceop, and cweth thæt se papa hit him forboden hæfde. Tha gewende se abbot ongean thone arcebisceop eft to tham; and thær thes biscop-hades gernde; and se arcebisceop him an-rædlies for-wernde and cwæth thet se papa hit him for-boden hæfde. Tha gewende se abbot to *Lundene* and sæt on tham bisceop-ricc the se cyng him ær geunnan hæfde, be his fulre leafe, ealne thone sumor and thone hærfeste. And com tha *Eustatius* fram geondan sæ sona æfter tham bisceop and gewende to tham cyng, and spæc with hine thæt thæt he thær wolde; and gewende tha ham-weard. Tha he com to *Cant-war-byrig* tha snædde he thær and his men, and to *Dofran* gewende. Tha he wæs sume mila oththe mare beheonan *Dofran* tha dyde he on his byrnan, and his geferan ealle, and foran to *Dofran*. Tha hi thidercomon tha woldon hi innian hi thær heom-sylfan gelicode,

\* In the copy *Tib. B. I.* this description of Ralph is written on an erasure.

† In copy *Domitian* mid thas cynges gewrite only; *cum litteris regis*.

On tham ylcan geare com *Eustatius* up æt *Doferan*. *Se* hæfde *Eadwardes* cynges sweostor to wife. Tha ferdon his men dyslice æfter inne; and sumne man of-slogon of tham porte, and other man of tham porte heora geferan

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Tha com an his manna, and wolde wician æt anes bundan huse, his unthances, and gewundode thone hus-bundon, and se hus-bunda of-sloh thone otherne. Tha wearth *Eustatius* uppon his horse, and his gefeoran upon heora, and ferdon to tham husbandon, and of-slogon hine binnan his agenan heorthe. And wendon him tha up to thære burge-wearth and of-slogon ægther ge withinnan ge with-utan ma thanne xx manna. And tha burh-menn of-slogon xix men on othre healfe and gewundodan thæt hi nystan hu fela. And *Eustatius* æt-bærst mid feawum mannun and gewende ongean to tham cyng and cydde be dæle hu hi gefaren hæfdon: And wearth se cyng swithe gram with tha burh-ware and of-sende se cyng *Godwine* eorl and bæd hine faran into *Cent* mid unfritha to *Dofran* forthan *Eustatius* hæfde gecydd tham cyng thæt hit sceolde beon mare gylt thære burh-warun thone his. Ac hit næs na swa. And se eorl nolde na gethwærian thære in-fare fortham him wæs lath to amyrrene his agene fol-gath. Tha sende se cyng æfter eallon his witan and beod heom cuman to Gleawe-ceastre neh thære æfre sca *Maria* mæssan. Tha hæfdon tha Welisie menn gewroht ænne castel on Herefordscire on Swegenes eorles folgothe and wrohton ælc thæra harme and bismere thæs cynges man-nan thær-abutan the hi mihton. Tha com *Godwine* earl and *Swegen* eorl and *Harold* eorl togædere æt Byferes-stane, and manig mann mid heom to thon thæt hi woldon faran to heora cyne-hlaforde and to tham witan eallon the mid gegaderode wæron thæt hi thæs cynges ræd hæfdon and his fultum and ealra witenas hu hi mihton

swa thaet thaer laefon VII his geferana. And micel hearm thaer gedon was on ægthre healfe mid horse and eac mid wæpnum oth thaet folc gegaderede; and hi tha æt-flugon thaet hi comon to tham cyнге to *Gleaw-*

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thæs cynges bismar awrecan and ealles theodscipes. Tha wæron tha Wælisce men æt-foran mid tham cyнге; and for-wregdon tha eorlas thaet hi ne mostan cuman on his eagon ge-sihte, fortham hi sædon thaet hi woldon cuman thider for thes cynges swic-dome. Wæs thaer cumon *Siward* eorl and *Leofric* eorl, and mycel folc mid heom, northan, to tham cyнге. And was tham eorle *Godwine* and his sunan ge-cydd thaet se cyng and tha menn the mid him wæron woldon rædon on hi. And hi trymedon hi fæstlice ongean theah him lath wære thaet hi ongean heora cyne-hlaford fundan sceoldan. Tha gerædden tha witan on ægther halfe thaet man tha ælces yfeles geswac. And geaf se cyng Godes grith and his fulne freondscipe on ægthre healfe. Tha gerædde se cyninge and his witan thaet man sceolde, othere sythan, habban ealra ge-witena gemot on *Lundene* to Hærfeste em-nihte, and het se cyning bannan ut here ægther ge be suthan *Temese* ge he northan eall thaet æfre betist wæs. Tha cwæth man Swegen eorl ut-lah. And stefnode man Godwine eorle and Harolde eorle to thon gemote swa rathe swa hi hit gefaran mihton. Tha hi thider ut-comon, tha stefnede heom man to gemote, *tha* gyrnde hie grithes and gisla thaet he moste un-swican *into* gemote cnman and *ut of* gemote. Tha gyrnde se cyng ealra thæra thegna the tha eorlas ær hæfdon and hi letan hi ealle him to handa. Tha sende se cyning eft to heom and bead heom thaet hi comon mid xii mannun into thæs cynges ræd. Tha geornde se eorl eft grithes and gisla thaet he moste hine betellan æt ælc thæra thinga the

*cestre* and he heom gryth sealde. Tha undernam *Godwine* eorl swithe thaet on his eorldome sceolde swilc ge-weorthan. Ongan tha gadrian folc ofer ealle his eorldom; and *Swegen* eorl, his sunu ofer *his*; and *Harold*, his other sunu, ofer his eorldome. And hi gegaderodon ealle on *Gleawcester-scyre* æt *Langa-treo*, mycele fyrde and unarimedlice—ealle gearwe to wige ongean thone cyng buton man ageaf *Eustatius* and his men heom-to *hand-sceofe*; and, eac, tha *frecyscan* the on *tham castelle* wæron. This wæs ge-don seofon nihton ær thaer *lateran sca Marian mæssan*. Tha wæs *Eadweard* cyng on *Gleawcestre* sittende. Sende tha æfter *Leofric* eorl, and, north, æfter *Siuward* eorl, and bæd heora genoges. And hi him tha to coman, *ærest* mid medemum fultume, ac, syth-than hi wistan hu hit thære, *be-suthan*, wæs: tha sendon hi, north, ofer ealle heora eorldom; and læton hædon mycele fyrde heora hlaforde to helpe and *Rauf* eac ofer his eorldom; and comon tha ealle to *Gleawceastre* tham

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him man on-lede. Tha wyrnde him man thera gisla and sceawede him mann v nihta grith ut of land to farenne. And gewende tha *Godwine* eorl and *Swegen* eorl to *Bosanham*, and scufon ut heora scipu and gewendon heom begeondan sæ and besohton *Baldewines* grith; and wunodon thaer ealne thone winter. And *Harold* eorl gewende west to *Yrlande* and wæs thaer ealne thone winter on thes cynges grithe. And sona thæs the this wæs tha for-let se cyng tha hlæfdian seo wæs gehalgod him to cweue. And let nyman of hire eall thaet heo ahte on lande and on golde and on seolfre and on eallon thingon; and be-tæhte hy his swyster to *Hwerewylle*. And *Sparhafoc* abbot wearth tha adrifen ut of tham biscop-ricc on *Lundene*, and wæs *Willelm* thæs cynges preost gehadod thaer-to.

cynges to helpe theah hit læt wære. Wurdon tha ealle swa anræde mid tham cynges thæt hi woldon *Godwines* fyrde ge-secan gyf se cyng thæt wolde. Tha leton hy sume thæt thæt mycel unræd wære thæt hy togedere comon forþam thær wæs mæst thæt rotoste thæt wæs on ængla-lande on tham twam gefylcum; and leton thæt he urum feondum rymdon to lande and betwyx us sylfum to mycclum for-wyrde: ge-ræddon tha thæt man sealde gislas betweenan and setton stefna ut to lundene. And man bead tha folc thider ut ofer ealne thisne north ende on *Siwardes* eorlome, and on *Leofrices*, and eac elles-ge-hwær. And sceolde *Godwine* eorl and his suna thær cuman to wither male. Tha comon hy to *Suth-ge-weorce* and micel mænigeo mid heom of *West-Seaxum*; ac his werod wanode æfre the leng the swithor. And man borhfaste tham kyninge ealle tha thægnas the wæron *Haroldes* eorles his suna. And man utlagode tha *Swægn* eorl, his *otherne sunu*, thane on-hagode him to cumenne to wither male on gean thone cyng; and agean thone here the him mid wæs for tham on niht awæg. And se cyng hæfde thæs on morgen witenas gemot; and cwæth hine *ut-lage*, and eall here hine and ealle his suna: and he wende *Suth* to *Thornege*,\* and his *wif* and *Swegen* his sunu, and *Tostig* and his *wif*, *Baldwines* mage æt *Brycg*, and *Gerth* his sunu. And *Harold* eorl and *Leofwine* foran to *Brycg-stowe* on thæt scyp the *Swegen* eorl hæfde him-sylfum ær ge-gearcod and ge-metsod. And se cyning sende *Ealdred* bisceop of *Lundene* mid genge, and sceoldon hine of-ridan ær he to scipe com, ac hi ne mihton, oththe hi noldon; and he wende tha ut of *Æfene-muthan*. And feng swa

\* I take *Thorney in the Isle* to be meant here: Mr. Ingram thinks otherwise.

stith weder thæt he uneathe a-wæig com; and him thær micel forferde. Wende tha forth to *Irlande* tha him weder com. And *Godwine* and tha the mid him wæron wendon of *Thornege* to *Brycge* to *Baldwines* lande on anum scype, mid swa miclum gærsuman swa hi mihton thær-on mæst ge-logian to ælcum mannum. Thæt wolde thyncan wonderlic ælcum men the on Engla-lande wæs gif ænig man ær tham sæde thæt hit swa ge-wurthan sceolde; forþam the he wæs ær to tham swythe up a-hafen swylce he wolde thæs cynges and ealles Engla-landes, and his sunan wæron *eorlas* and thæs cynges *dyplingas*. And his dohtor, thæm cynge *be-weddod* and *be-awmod*, tha man gebrohte to Hwær-wellan and hy thære *Abedissan* betæhton. Tha sone com *Willelm* eorl fram geondan sæ mid mycclum werode francisra manna; and se cyning *hine* underfeng, and swa feola his geferan swa him to on-hagode; and let hine eft ongean. Thæs ilcan geres man sealde *Wylltelme* preost thæt bisceop-ricc on *Lundene* the wæs ær *Spær-hafoce* geseald.

MLII.\* Her forth-ferde *Elfgysu* seo hælfðige, *Ethelredes* laf cynges, and *Cnutes* cynges, on II. non. mar.—On tham ilcan gere hergode *Griffin* se *Wylisca* cyng on *Hereford*.

\* A second MLII in the MS.—A new copyist from the word *metode*, p. 312, l. 28. Compare with this article the following from the *Laud* (of which there is an abridgment in the Copy *Domitian*, under date 1051).

MLII. Her on thisum geare forthferde *Ælfgiue* Ymma Eadwardes cynges modor and Hardacnutes cynges. And on tham sylfan geare gerædde se cyng and his witan thæt man sceolde forthian ut to Sandwic scipu and setton *Raulf* eorl and *Oddan* eorl to heafod-mannum thær-to. Tha gewende *Godwine* eorl ut from *Brycge* mid his scipum to Yseran and læt ut ane dæge ær mid-sumeres

scire, and he com swythe neah to *Leomynstre*: And men gadorodon ongean ægther gelandes-men ge frencisce-men of tham castele, and man thær of-sloh swythe feola *Englisca* godra manna, and eac of tham *frenaiscum*: thæt was thæs ylcan dæges on threottene geara the man ær *Eadwine* of-sloh mid his geferum.\* And sona com *Harold* eorl, of *Irlande*, mid his scipum to *Sefern-muthan* neh *Sumeraston*

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mæsse-æfen thæt he com to Næsse the is be suthan Rumen-ea. Tha com hit to witenne tham eorlum ut to Sandwic; and hi tha gewendon ut æfter tham othrum scipum: and bead man land-fyrde ut ongean tha scipu. Tha, amang thison, tha warth Godwine eorl gewarnod, and gewende him tha into Pefenes-ea; and wearth thæt wæder swythe strang thæt tha eorlas ne mihton gewitan hwet Godwine eorl gefaren hæfde. And gewende tha Godwine eorl ut agean thæt he com eft to Brycge. And tha othre scipu gewendon heom eft ongean to Sandwic. And gerædde man tha thæt tha scipu gewendan eft ongean to Lundene, and sceolde man setton othre eorlas and othre hasæton to tham scipum. Tha lengde hit man swa lange thæt seo scip-fyrd eall belaf, and gewendon ealle heom ham. Tha geaxode Godwine eorl thet and teah tha up his segl and his lith, and gewendon heom

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\* This passage seems to recognize as Wulstan's the following article in the *Tiberius B. I.* The year is wholly omitted in our principal MS. (*Tib. B. IV.*)

"MXXXIX. Her com se mycla wind. And *Bryhtmar* bisceop gefor on *Licet-felda*: and *Wealas* slogon *Eadwine*, *Leofrices* brothor eorles, and *Thyrcil*, and *Elfget*, and swithe fela godra manna mid heom. And her com ec *Harthacnut* to Bricge thar his modor wæs.

gemare, and *Dafenascire*; and thær mycel ge-hergode and that land-folc him ongean gaderode ægher-ge of *Sumersæton* ge of *Difenasire*: and he big afigræde, and thær of-sloh ma then XXX. godra thegna, buton oðre folc: And sona æfter tham for abuton *Pen-with-stearf*. And tha lǽt *Eðelward* cyng cypian XL. unæca the lǽdon at *Saithol* tha seoldon cepan *Guthinc* searles the on *Brytge* was thone winter. And he, theah, cwa hider to

tha west bƿ m to Wilt, and eodon thær up, and hergodon swa lǽnge thær that that folc geald heom swa micel swa hi heom on-legden. And gewendon heom tha west weard oth thæt hi comon to Port-lande, and eodon thær up and dydon to hearne swa hwet swa hi don mihton. Tha wes Harold gewetid ut of Yffande mid nigon seþon and com tha up at Port-locan and wes thær mycel folc gegaderod ongean. Ac he ne wærdode nā him metes to tylienne,—eode up and of-sloh thær mycelne ende thes folces, and nam him on orfe and on mannun and on abtun swa him gewearth. And gewende him tha east-weard to his feder, and gewenden heom tha begen east-weard thæt hi comen to Wilt, and namon thær thæt him with-sefan was. And gewendon heom tha thanen to *Refenes-ea*, and begeat forþ mid him swa fela scipu swa thær fera wæron; and swa forþ thæt he com to *Nease*, and begeat ealle tha scipu the wæron on *Rumen-ea*, and on *Hythe*, and on *Folces-stane*, and gewendon tha east to *Dofra* and eodon thær-up, and namon him thær scipu and gilas swa fela swa hi woldon; and ferdon swa to *Sandwic*, and dydon hand thæt *sylfa*. And heom man geaf æghwar gilas and mætsunga thær thæt hi gyrndon. And gewendon heom tha to North-muthan and swa to *Lundene-weard*. And sume tha scipu gewendon binnon



lande ærest swa hy hit nystan, and on tham fyrste the he her ou lande wæs, he ge-speon ealle *Centingas*, and ealle tha butsecarlas of *Hæstingum*, and thær æg-hwar abutan be thære sæ-riman, and ealne *East-Sexan*, and *Suth-Sexan*, and *Sutherege*, and mycel elles to eacan tham. Tha, cwædon ealle thæt hi woldon mid him libban and licgean. Tha ge-axedon thæt *lith* thæt on *Sandwic* læg embe *Godwines* fare setton tha æfter; and he heom æt-bærst; and thæt lith wende ongean to *Sandwic* and swa *ham-weard* to *Lundenbyrig*. Tha tha *Godwine* ge-axede thæt thæt *lith* the on *Sandwic* læig wæs ham gewend, tha for he, æft, ongean to *Wikt* and thær abutan be tham sæ-riman swa lange thæt he comon to-gædere *Harold* eorl his sunu. And hi noldon no mycelne hearm don syththon buton thæt hyg met, sung namon. Ac speonnan heom tha eall thæt land-folc to, he tham sæ-riman, and eac upon lande: and hy foran toward *Sandwic* and læson æfre forth mid heom ealle tha butsecarlas the hy gemetton; and comon tha to *Sandwic*.

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Scep-ige and dydon thær mycelne hearm; and gewendon heom to *Middel-tun* *thæs cynges*, and for-bearndon thæt eall, and wæron heom to *Lundene-weard* æfter tham eorlan. Tha hi to *Lundene* comon tha læg se cyng and tha eorlas ealle thær ongean mid L. scipum. Tha sendon tha eorlas to tham cyng and gerndon to him thæt hi moston beon wurthe ælc thara thinga the heom mid unrihte of-genumen wæs. Tha with-læg se cyng sume-hwile, *theah* swa lange oth thet folc the mid tham eorle wæs wearth swythe astyred ongean thone cyng and on-gean his folc, swa thæt se eorl sylf earfothlice ge-stylde thæt folc. Tha ferde *Stigand* biscop to (*mid Godes ful-tume*) and tha wise menn, ægther ge binnan *Burh* ge buton, and geræddon thæt man tremede gislas on ægther

mid geotendan here. Tha *Eadward* thæt ge-axode tha sende he upp æfter maran fultume ac hy coman swythe læte : and *Godwine* säh him æfre toward *Lundenne* mid his lithe thæt he com to *Suth-weorce*, and thær abad sume-hwile, oth thæt thæt flod upp eode on thäm fyrste ; and eac ær he ge-fadode with tha burh-warn thæt he mæst ealle woldon thæt he wolde. Tha, tha he hæfde eallē his fare ge-reconod, tha com thæt flod ; and hy brudon sona upp heora ancras, and heoldan thurh tha *Bryce* à à bi thäm *Suthlande*. And seo lande-fyrde coman ofenan, and trymedon hy be thäm strande : and hy hwendan tha mid thäm scipum swylce hy woldon thes cynges scyepum abuton be-tryman. *Se cyning* hæfde eac mycle land-fyrde on his healfe to eacan his scip-mannum ; ac hit was mæst eallan lath to feohtanne with heora agenescynnes-mannum fortham thær was lytel elles theaht mycel myhton butan *Englisc*e on ægthre healfe : and eac hi noldon thæt *ut-lendescum* mannum wære thes eard thurh thæt the swithor gerymed the hi him-sylfe ælc othere for-fore :—Ge-ræddan tha thæt man sende wyse-

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healfe ; and man swa dyde. Tha geaxode Rotberd arcebiscop and tha Frencisce men thæt, genamon heora hors, and gewendon,—sume west to *Pentecostes* castele,—sume north to Rodbertes castele. And Rodbert arcebiscop and Ulf biscop gewendon ut æt Est-geate and heora geferan and of-slogon and elles amyrdon manige iunge men : and gewendon heom on an to Ealdulfes-næse, and wearth him thær on anon un-wræste scipe and ferde him on an ofer sæ, and for-let his Pallium and Xpendom ealne her on lande swa swa hit Gode wolde, tha he ær befeat thone wurthscipe swa swa hit God nolde.

Tha cwæth man mycel gemot withutan Lundene, and ealle tha eorlas and tha betstan menn the wæron on thi-

men betweenan, and setton grith on ægthra halfe. And *Godwine* for upp, and *Harold*, and heora *lith*, swa micel swa heom tha ge-thuhte: and was tha witene-gewot; and man sealde *Godwine* clæne his eorldom swa full and swa forth, swa he fyrmeast ahte: and his *sunu eallum*, eall, thaet *hy* ær ahton: and his *wifa*, and his *doktor*, swa full and swa forth swa hi ahton: and hi fæstnedon tha fulne freondscipe heom betweenan: and eallum folc fulle lagu bebeton: and *ge-ut-lagedon* ealle tha *frencisceas* the ær un-lagon wærdon, and undomdemdon: and unred ræddan into thissum eardum buton swa fels swa hi ge-ræddon thaet *tham cyng* gelicode mid him to habbenne, the him ge-treowe wæren, and eallum his folc: and *Rodbert* arcebisceop, and *Willelm* bisceop, and *Ulf* bisceop, up-eashe æt-burstan mid *tham frenciscean mannum* the him mid wæron; and swa ofer sæ comon. [And *Godwine* eorl and *Harold* and seo *even* sæton on heora ære. *Sæges* for æror to *Hierusalem* (of *Brigge*) and weaeth ham-weard dead æt *Constantinopolim* to *Michæles-mæsse*. Thaet was on thone monan-dæg æfter scea *Marian mæsse*, thaet *Godwine* mid his scipum to *Suth-ge-weorce* becom

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san lande wæron on *tham gemote*. Thaer beer *Godwine* eorl up his mal and betælde hine thaer with *Eadward* cyng his hlaforð and with ealle land-leodan thaet he was un-scyldig thes the *him* ge-led was and on *Harold* his sunu and ealle his bearn. And se cyng for-geaf *tham* eorle and his bearnum his fulne freondscipe and fulne eorldom and eall thaet he ær ahte, and eallon *tham* mannon the him-mid wæron. And se cyng geaf thaer hlafdian ealle thaet heo ær ahte. And cweth man ut-laga *Rotherd* arcebisceop fullice and ealle tha *frencisce* men, forthan the hi macodon mæst thaet unsæht betweenan

and thæs on mergen on thone tiwes-dæg hi gewurdon sehte swa hit her beforan stent. Godwine thæs gesicelode hrathe thæs the he up com, and eft gewyrpte. Ac he dyde ealles to lytle dæd-bots of thære Godes are the he hæfde of manegum halgum stowum.\*]

MLIII. Her was se micla wind on *Thomas* masse niht; and gehwær mycelne hearm dyde; and eac ealle thæs mīde-winter was micel wind. And man rædde thæt man sloh *Hris* thæs wyliscan cynges brether for-thy the he hearmas dyle: and man brohte his heafod to *Gleawcestre* on twelftan-æferd. And thæs ylcan geres foran-to alra halgena massan forthferde *Wulfg* bisceop æt *Licedfelda*; and *Godwine* abbot on *Winclcumbe*; and *Ægelward* abbot on *Glestingabyrig*; ealle binnan anum monthe: and *Leofwine* feng to thām bisceoprice æt *Licedfelde*; and *Aldet* bisceop feng to thām abbot-price on *Winclcumbe*; and *Ægelnoth* feng to thām abbot-price on *Glestingabyrig*. And thæs ylcan geres forth-ferde *Ælfric*, *Oddan* brother, on *Deorhyrst*, and his lichaman resteth on *Percore*. Eac *Wyliet* mēn geslogon mycelne dæl *Engliscas* folces thære weardmanna with *West-byrig*. {On thisson gear næs nan arcebiscop on thissan lande: butan *Stigand* bisceop heold thæt bisceoprice on Cant-wara-byrig on *Cristes* cyrcan, and

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Godwine eorle and thām cyng: and *Stigand* bisceop feng to thām arcebiscoprice on Cantwara-byrig.”

And to *Stigand* we are certainly indebted for *this* article, and those of 1036, 1046, and 1048, and the rest of the Copy *Laud*, between the years 1035 and 1064. He is named again in the years 1042, 1043, 1058, and 1061. (*Vide post.*)

From the Copy *Tiberius B. I.*

*Kynsige* on *Eoferwic*: and *Leofwine* and *Wulfwi* foran ofer sæ, and leton hig hadian thær to bisceopum. Se *Wulfwi* feng to tham bisceoprice the *Ulf* hæfde be him libbendum and of-adræfdum. And on thisum geare wæs se cyning on *Winceastre* on *Eastran* and *Godwine* eorl mid him and *Harold* eorl his sunu and *Tostig*. Tha on *othran* Easter-dæge sæt he mid tham cyninge æt gereorde. Tha færinga sah he nither, with thæs fot-setles,—spræce benu-men and ealre his mihte—and hine man tha bræd into thæs cynges bure, and thohtan thæt hit ofer-gan sceolde; ac hit næs na swa; ac thurh-wunode swa unspecende and mihtealas forth oth thone *Thures-dæg*, and tha his lif alet. And he lith thær biinnan ealdan mynstre, and his sunu *Harold* feng to his eorlome and let of *than* the he ær hæfde, and *Ælfgar* feng thær-to.\*]

MLIV. Her ferde *Siuward* eorl mid micclum here on *Scotlande* ægther ge mid *scyp-here* and mid *land-fyrde*; and feaht with *Scottas* and aflymde thone king *Macbeothen*, and of-sloh eall thæt thær betst wæs on tham lande and lædde thonan micle here-huthe swilce nan man ær ne begeat. Eac feoll mycel on his healf, ægther ge-*Densce* ge-*Englisc*; and eac his sunu† *Osbern* and his sweostor sunu *Sihward*, and of his *Huscarlum*, and eac thæs cynges, wurdon thær of-slægene—on thone dæg Septem

\* From Copy *Tiberius B. I.* the opening of the year 1053. The Copy *Tiberius B. IV.* is here materially shortened, and ends thus: "and thes ylcan geres forthferde *Godwine* eorl and him ge-yfelode thær he mid tham cynges sæt on *Wincestre*; and *Harold* his sunu, feng to tham eorl-dome the his fæder ær hæfde; and *Ælgar* eorl feng to tham eorl-dome the *Harold* ær hæfde."

† And eac his agen sunu *Osbern* (*only*,) in *Tiberius B. I.* and in the fragment printed at the end of *Lye's* second Volume.

dormientium. Thæs ilcan geres for *Aldred* bisceop to *Colne* ofer sæ thæs cynges *ærende*, and wearth thær under-fangen mid mycclan weorthscipe from tham *Casere* : and thær he wunode wel-neh an ger; and him geaf ægther theneste ge se bisceop on *Colone* and se *Casere* :\* and he lofode *Leofwine* bisceope to halgianne thæt mynstre æt *Eofes-hamme* on VI id. octb. and on thisan geare swalt *Osgod* færinga on his bedde [swa swa he on his reste læg†]. And her forthferde scs *Leo*, papa; and *Victor* wæs to papa gecoren on his stede.

MLV. On thisan geare forthferde *Syhward* eorl on *Eoferwic* : and he ligeth æt *Galmaho* on tham mynstre the he-sylf let timbrian and halgian on *Godes* and *Olafes* naman, and *Tosti* feng to tham eorldome the he hæfde : and Kynsie arcebisceop fette his pallium æt *Victore* papan. And thær æfter sona man utlagode *Ælfgar* eorl, *Leofrices* sunu eorles, [butan ælcan gylte and he gewende tha to *Irlande* and begeat him thær lith, thæt was xviii scipa butan his agenan : and wendan tha to *Brytlande* to *Griffine* cyng mid tham werede, and he hine underfeng on his griðe; and hig gegaderadon tha mycle fyrde mid tham *Yriscan* mannan and mid *Wal-kynne* : and *Rawulf* eorl gaderade mycele fyrde agean to *Hereford-Port*, and hi sohtan hi thær; ac ær thær wære ænig spere gescoten æt-fleah thæt Englisce folc forthan the hig wæran on horsan. And man sloh thær mycel wæl, abutan fower hund manna oððe fife; and hig nænne agean : And hig gewendan tha to tham porte and thæt forbærndan; and thæt mære mynstre the *Æthelstan* se arwurtha biscop ær let getimbrian thæt hig ge-ryptan and be-reafoðan-æt

\* Here is the original hint for *Malmesbury's story of Wulstan's two books*.

† *Tib. B. I.*

bæligdom and æt hreæue and æt eallon thingan,—and thæt folc slogan and sume on-weg læddon. Tha gaderade man fyrde geond eall *Engla-lande* (swythe neah,) and hig coman to *Gleaweceastre* and wendan swa unfeorr ut on *Wealas*, and thær lagon sume hwile, and *Harold* eorl let dician tha dic abutan thæt port tha hwile. Tha on tham tha spæc man to frithe, and Harold eorl and tha the mid him wæron coman to *Bylgeslege*, and thær fryth and freondscipe heom betweenan gefæstnodon. And man ge-in-lagode tha *Ælfgar* eorl, and man ageaf him eall thæt him wæs ær of-genumen. And that scip-lith gewende to *Legeceastre*, and thær abiden heora males the *Ælfgar* heom behet. Se man-slyht wæs on ix *kl. Nobris*.\*] On tham ilcan geare forthferde Trymerin se wylisca bisceop sona æfter thære hergunge: and he wæs *Æthelstanes* bisceop ge-spelia siththan he unfere wæs.

MLVI. Her for-let *Ægelric* bisceop his bisceoprice at

\* *Tiberius B. I.*, abridged in *Tiberius, B. IV.* thus: "for-neh butan gylte. Ac he gewende, to *Irlande* and *Brytlande*; and begeat him thær micel genge and ferde swa to *Hereforda*. Ac him com thær togenes *Raulf* eorl mid micclan here, and mid lytlan gewinne hi on fleam ge-brohte, and micel folc on tham fleame of-sloh: and gewendon tha into *Hereford-porte*, and for-hergode that porte and for-bærnde thæt mære mynstre the *Æthelstan* bisceop getimbrode; and of-sloh tha preostas innan than mynstre, and manege thær to eacan; and namon thær-inne eall tha mathmas, and mid heom aweg læddon. And tha tha he hæfdon mæst to yfele gedon man gerædde thone ræd thæt man *Ælfgar* eorl ge-inn-lagode; and ageaf him his eorldom, and eall thæt him of-genumen wæs. Thæs hergung wæs ge-wurden on non. *kl. Nobris*."

*Dunholm* and ferde to *Burh*, to *Sce Petres mynstre*; and his brother *Ægelwine* feng thæto. And eac her forthferde *Æthelfstan* bisceop on *iiii* id. Feb. and his lichama leth on *Hereforda*, and man sette *Leofgar* to bisceop; se was *Haroldes* eotles mæsse-preost, and on his preost-hæde he hæfde his kenepas oth that he bisceop was. Se forlet his *crisman*, and his *rode*, and his gastlican wæpnið, and feng to his *ipere* and to his *swurde*; and swa for to ferde ongean *Griffin* thone *wylscan cyning*: and he wearth thær of-slagen and his *preostas* mid him and *Ælfnoth Scir-gerefa* and manega othre gode men. This was ehtan nihte ær middan sumere. [Earfothlic is to atellanne seo ge-drecednes and seo fare eall and seo fyrdung and thæt geswinc, and manna fyll and eac horsa the eall Engla here dæah oth that *Leofric* eorl com with, and *Harold* eorl and *Ealdred* bisceop, and macedan soht thær betweenan,—Swa thæt *Griffin* swor aþas thæt he wolde beon Eadwarde kinge hold under-kinge and un-swicigende.\*] And *Ealdred* bisceop feng to tham bisceoprice the *Leofgar* hæfde *xi* wucan and *iiii* dagas. Thæs geares forthferde *Odda*, eorl; and he lith on *Perstora*: Se was to muneca gehadod ær his ende; god man and clæne, and swithe æthele: and he gewat on *ii* kal Sept. And *Cona* se *Casere* forthferde.

*MLVII*. Her com *Eadward Ætheling* to Engla-lande. Se was *Eadwerdes* brothor sunu kynges, *Eadmund* eing *iren-sid* was ge-clypod; for his snell-scipe. Thære ætheling *Cnut* cyng for-send on *Ungerland* to be-swicanie; ac he thær getheh to godan men, swa him god uthe, and him wel ge-byrede, swa thæt he beget thæs *Caseres* maga to wife, and be thære fægerne bearn team ge-strigade: seo was Agathes gahaten. Ne wiston we for hwylcan

\* *Tiberius B. I.* Hence a blank to *MLXV*.



intingan thæt gedon wærth thæt he ne moste his mæges *Eadwardes* cynges geseon. *Wa la! thet wæs hreowlic sith; and hearmlic eallre thissere theode thæt he swa rathe his lif ge-endade thæs the he to Engla-lande com! for un-gesælthe thissere earman theode.* On than ilcan geare forthferde *Leofric* eorl on 11 kl. Octob. he wæs swithe wis for *Gode* and eac for worulde thæt fremode eallre thisre theode: He lith æt *Cofentreo* and his sunu *Ælfgar* feng to his rice. And on tham geare forthferde *Raulf* eorl on XII kl. ian. and lith on *Burh*. Eac gefor *Heca* bisceop on *Suthseaxum*; and *Ægelric* wæs on his setl abafen: and her *Victa* papa forthferde and *Stefanus* wæs to papa gecoren.

MLVIII. Her man ytte ut *Ælfgar* eorl; ac he comsona inn ongean mid strece thurh *Griffines* fultum. And her com scyp-herc of *Norwegan*; hit is langsum to atelanne ealle hu hit gefaren wæs. On tham ilcan geare *Ealdred* bisceop halgode thæt mynstre on *Gleawcestre* the he-sylf ge-forthode *Gode* to lofe and *Se Petre*: and swa ferde to *Hierusalem* mid swilcan weorthscipe swa nan othere ne dyde æt foran him; and hine-sylfne thær God be-tæhte; and wurthlice lac eac ge-offrode to *wes drihtenes byrgene*:—Thæ twæs an gylden calic on fif marcon swithe wundorlices ge-worces. On tham ilcan gere forthferde *Stefanus* papa; and *Benedictus* wæs to papan geset: Se sende pallium *Stigande* bisceope. And *Ægelric* wæs to bisceope ge-hadod on *Suth-Sexum*, and *Sinward*, abbot, to bisceope to *Hrofcestre*.

MLIX. Her on thisan geare wæs *Nicolaus* ge-coren to papan. Se wæs bisceop ær æt *Florentia* thære burh, and *Benedictus* wæs ut-adryfen the thær wæs ær papa, and on thisan geare wæs se *Stypel* gehalgod æt *Burh* on XVI kl. Nov.

MLX. On thisan geare wæs micel eorh-dyne on *trans-*

*lacione sci Martini* : and *Heinric* se cyng forthferde on *Franc-ric* : and *Kynsie* arcebisceop on *Eoferwic* gewat on xi kl. *Ianr.* and he ligeth on *Burh*, and *Ealdred* bisceop feng to tham rice : and *Waltere* feng to tham bisceoprice on *Herefordscire* : and *Dudoc* bisceop eac forthferde, *Se* wæs bisceop on *Sumersætan* ; and man sette *Gisa* preost on his stede.

MLXI. Her for *Ealdred* bisceop to Rome æfter his palium, and he hine underfeng æt tham papan *Nicolae* : and se eorl *Tostig* and his wife eac faron to Rome : and se bisceop and se eorl gebidan micle earforthnysse tha hi ham-ward foran. And her forthferde *Godwine* bisceop æt *Sce Murtine* ; and *Wulfrice* abbot æt *Sce Agustine* on IIII.x kl. April. And *Nicolaus* papa forthferde, and *Alexander* wæs to papan gecoren ; se wæs bisceop æt *Lucan*.

MLXII. Nil.

MLXIII. On thissum gear for *Harold* eorl æfter middan wintre of *Gleawcestre* to *Rudelan* the *Griffines* wæs ; and thonne ham for-bærnde, and his scipa and ealle tha ge-wada the thær to ge-byrede, and hine on fleame gebrohte. And tha, to tham gong-dagan, for *Harold* mid scipum of *Brycgstowe* abutan *Brytland* ; and thæt folc grithede and gisledon : and *Tostig* for mid land-fyrde ongear and thæt land ge-eodon. Ac her on thissan ilcan gear on herfeste wearth *Griffin* cyng of-slagen on nonas *Agusti* fram his agenum mannum, thurh thæt gewinn the he gewon with *Harold* eorl : Se wæs kyning ofer eall Weal-cyn : and man brohte his heafod to *Harolde* eorle and *Harold* hit tham kynge brohte, and his scipes heafod and tha bone ther-mid. And se kyng *Eadward* betæhte thæt land his twam gebrothran *Blethgente* and *Rigwalan* ; and hig athas sworon and gislas saldon thæm cyng and thæm eorle thæt heo him on eallum thingum un-swi-

cende beon woldon, and æg-hwar him gearwe on watere and on lande, and swylc of tham laude gelestan swylc man dyde toforan ær othrum kynges.

MLXIV. *Nil.*

MLXV. Her on thissum geara foran to hlafræssan het *Harold* eorl bytlian on *Brytlande* æt *Portasciðh*: Tha tha he lit gegan hæfde and thær mycel god to ge-gaderode and thohte thonne cyne *Eadward* thær to habbanne for Huntiothes thingon—ac-tha hit eall was gearwe, tha for *Cradoc* to *Griffines* sunu mid eallon tham geage the he be-geotan mihte and thæt folc eall mæst of-æloh the thær timbrode, and thæt god the thær gegearwed was, namon ; *ne wisten we hwa thone we-ræd ærest ge-rædde*. This was gedon on *Sce Bartholomeus* mæsse dag. And sona æfter thisan\* gegaderedon tha thegenas hi ealle on *Eoferwic-scire* and on *Northhymbra-land* to-gedere; and ge-ut-lagedan heora eorl *Tostig* and of-slogon his hired menn, ealle the hig mihten to cumen, ægther ge *englice ge denisse*, and namon ealle his *wapna* on *Eoferwic* and *gold* and *scolfor* and ealle his *scettas* the hig mihton ahwær thær geacsian, and sendon æfter *Morkere*, *Ælf-gares* sunu eorles, and ge-curon hine heom to eorle: And he for suth mid *æalre* thære *scire* and mid *Snothingshamscire* and *Deorbyscire* and *Lincolnascore* oth he com to *Huntune*: and his brother *Eadwine* him com togeanes mid tham mannun the on his earldome weron, and eac fela *Bretas* comon mid him. Thær com *Harold* eorl heom to geanes; and hig lægdon arende on hine to tham cyninge *Eadwarde*, and eac ærend-ræcan mid him sendon, and bædon thæt hi moston habban *Morkere* him to eorle; and se cyning thæs geuthe: and sende æfter *Harolde* heom to *Hamtune* on *Sce Symones* and *Juda*-mæsse æfen and

\* Tha æfter Michabeles mæssan, (&c.) *Tib. B. I.*

cythde heom thæt ilce, and heom thæt a hand sealde; and he nywade thær *Cnutes* lage. And tha rythrenan dydan mycelne hearm abutan Hamtune tha hwile the he for heora ærende, ægthær thæt hi of-slogon menn, and bærndon hus and corn, and namon eall thæt orf the hig mihton to cuman—thæt was feola thusend; and fela hund manna hi namon and læddan north mid heom-swa thæt seo scir and tha othra scira the thær-neah sindon wurdan fela wintra the wyrstan.\* And *Tostig* eorl and his wif and ealle tha the woldon thæt he wolde faran *suth* ofer sæ mid him to *Bakhoine* eorle; and he hi ealle under-fenge, and hig wæron ealne thone winter thær. And *Eadward* cyng com to *Westmynstre* to tham middan wintre, and thet mynster thær let halgian the he sylf getimbrode *Gode* to lofe and *sce Petre* and *Eallum Godes Halgum*: and seo *Cyric-halgung* was on *Citde mæssa* deig, and he forth-

\* Thus in Copy *Tiberius B. I.*:—

“And se maun-sliht was on *Sce Bartholomeus mæsse*-dæg. And tha æfter *Michaheles* mæssan foran tha Thegnas ealle on Eoferwicscire to *Eoferwic*, and *Tostiges* eorles Huscarlas thar of-slogon ealle tha the hig geaxian mihton, and hys gæsuman namon: and *Tostig* was tha æt Brytfordan mid tham kyng. And tha wel rathe thar-æfter was micel gemot æt *North-hamtune* and swa on *Oxenaforda* on thone deig *Simonis et Iudæ*: and was *Harold* eorl thær and wolde heora seht wyrcan gif he mihte,—(ac he na mihte;) Ac eall hys eorldome hyne anrædlice for-soc and ge-ut-lagode, and ealle tha mid him the un-lage rærdon,—fortham the rypst god ærost, and ealle tha bestrypte the he ofer-mihte æt life and æt lande.

And hig namon heom tha *Morkere* to eorl: and *Tostig* for tha ofer sæ and his wif mid him,” &c.

ferde on twelftan æfen and hine man bebyrigde on twelftan dæg on tham iclan mynstre swa hit her æfter sægth.

Hier *Eadward* cing Englene hlaford sende soth-feste saule to *Criste*, on Godes wera gast haligne: he on weorolda her wunode thragæ, on kine thrimme creftig ræda. xxiii freolic wealdand wintra rimes, weolan britnode. And he hælo-tid hæletha wealdend weold wel ge-thungan *Walum* and *Scottum* and *Bryttum* eac: (byre *Æthelredes*!) Englum and Sæxum orec-mægcum swa ymb clyppath cealda brymmas thæt eall *Eadwarde* æthelum kinge hyrdan holdelice hagestalde menn. Wæs á blithe mod beale-leas king, thah he langa ær landes bereafod wunoda wreclastum wide geond eorþan seoththau *Knut* ofer com cynn *Æthelredes*, and *Dena* weoldon deore rice Engla landes. xxviii wintra ge-rimes weolan brytnodon. Sith-than forth be-com freolic ingeatwum kinige cystum god clæne and milde *Eadward* se æthele, ethel bewarede land and leodan, oth thæt hunger be-com death se bytera and swa deore genam æthelne of eorþam: Englas feredon sothfeste sawle inne swegles leoht: And se froda swa theah befeste thæt rice heah-thungena menn *Harolde*-sylfum, æthelum eorle. Se in ealne tid herde holdelice herran synum-wordum and dædum—, wihte ne agelde thæs the thearfe wæs thæs theod-kynges. And her wearth *Harold* earl eac to cyngge gehalgod and he lytle stilnesse thær-on ge-bad tha hwile the he rices weold.

MLXVI. On thissum geare com *Harold* cyng-of *Eoferwic* to *Westmynstre*-to tham Eastran the wæron æfter tham middan wintre the se cyng forthferde: and wæron tha *Eastran* on thone dæg xvi kl.mai. Tha wearth geond eall *Englu-land* swylc tacen on heofenum ge-sewen swylce nan man ær ne ge-seah; sume men cwedon thæt hit cometa se *steorra* wære thone sume men hatath *thone*

*fæxedon steorran* : and he æt-eowde ærest on thone æfen *letania major*,—viii kl.mai,—and swa stan ealle tha seofon-niht. And sona ther-æfter com *Tostig* eorl in fram be-geond sæ into *Wiht*, mid swa miclum lithe swa he begitan mihte: and him man geald thær ægther ge-feoh ge-metsunge. And *Harold* cyng his brothor gegaderade swa micelne *scip-here* and eac *land-here* swa nan cyng her on lande ær ne dyde fortham the him wæs ge-cydd thæt [*Willelm* eorl from Normandige *Eadwardes* cingces *mæg* wolde hider cuman and this land gegan :—eall swa hit siththan a-eode. Tha *Tostig* thæt geaxode thæt *Harold* cyng wæs toward Sandwic tha for he of Sandwic and nam of tham *Butsecarlon* sume mid him,—sume thances—sume unthances—and gewende north into [ ] mid sixtigum scipum, and thær hergode on *Lindesige*, and thær manega gode men of-sloh. Tha *Eadwine* eorl and *Morkere* eorl thæt undergeaton tha comon hi thyder and hine of thæm lande adrifon.\*] And tha *Butsecarlas* hine forsocan, and he for to *Scotlande* mid xii snaccum, [and *Scotta* cyning hine grithede and him to metsunge fylste: and thær ealne sumor wunode. Tha com *Harold* cininge to Sandwic and thær his lithes abad fortham the hit wæs lang ær hit man gegaderian mihte; and tha his lith gegaderod wæs tha for he into *Wiht*, and thær læg ealne thone sumor and thone hærfest, and man hæfde land-fyrde æghwar be sæ, theh hit æt tham ende naht ne for-stode. Tha hit wæs to *Nativitas Sce Mariæ*—tha wæs

\* *Tiberius*, B. I. The history is thus shortened in *Tib. B. IV.* “Him wæs ge-cydd thæt *Wyllelm* bastard wolde hider and this lande gewinnen; (eall swa hit siththan a-eode.) And tha hwile com *Tostig* eorl into *Humbran*, mid sixtigum scipum: and *Eadwine* eorl com mid *land-ferde*, and adraf hine ut.



haten to gewissan that him man theer of ealne thear  
 soire ongean hy gislas bringan wolde. Tha com Harold  
*Engla-cyninge* heom ongean on unwaran begeondan there  
 brycege, and hi thear togedere fengon and swithe heardlice  
 lange on-dæg feohtende wæron: And thear was Harold  
 eyning of *Norwegan* and *Tostig* eorl of-slagen and unge-  
 rim folces mid heom, ægther ge *Normanna* ge *Englica*,  
 and tha *Normen*]. the thear to lafe wæron wurdon on fleame  
 and tha *Engliscas* hi hindan hetelic slogen oth that hig  
 sume to scype coman: sume adrunce, and sume, eac,  
 forbærnde, and swa mislice for-farene that thear was lyt to  
 lafe: and *Engle* ahton wæl stowe gewæld. Se kyng tha  
 geaf gryth *Olaf* theas *Norna cynges suna*, and heora  
 bisceope, and than eorle of *Orcaneg*; and eallon than  
 the on tham scypum to lafe wæron. And hi foron tha upp  
 to *uran* kyninge, and sworon athat that hi æfre waldon  
 fryth and freund-scipe mid thisan lande haldan: and se  
 cyng hi let ham faran mid *xxiii* scypum.—Thas twa folc-

\* *Tiberius*, B. I., where this ancient copy ends. The his-  
 tory is thus abbreviated again in the copy *Tib. B. 60*.  
 “And hine gemette thear Harold cyng of *Norwegan* mid  
 threo hund scipum; and *Tostig* him-to beah, and his  
 man wearth. And hi foron tha *begea* into *Humbran* oth  
 that hi comon to *Eoferwic*; and heom thear with fuhton  
*Eadwine* eorl and *Morkere* eorl, his brother: Ac tha  
*Normen* ahton *sige*. Man cyththe tha *Harolde* (*Engla-*  
*cyng*) that this was thus ge-faren:—and this ge-foeht  
 was on *vigilia sci Muthei*. Tha com Harold, ure cyng,  
 on un-wær on tha *Normenn*, and hytte hi begeondan  
*Eoferwic* æt *Stemford-brygge* mid micclan here engliscas  
 folces, and thear wearth on dæg swithe stranglic ge-foeht  
 on ba halfe: Tha wearth of slægen Harold *Harfagera*  
 and *Tosti* eorl. And tha *Normen*



ge-feoht wæron ge-fremmede binnan fif nihtan. Tha com *Wyllelm* eorl of *Normandige* into *Pefnes-ea* on *sc* *Michael*-mæsse-æfen; and, sona thæs hi fere wæron, worhton castel æt *Hæstinga-port*. This wearth tha *Harolde* cyng ge-cydd, and he gaderode tha mycelne here and com him to-genes æt thære haran *Apwuldran*: and *Wyllelm* him com on-gean on un-wær ær his folc gefylced wære, ac se kyng theah him swithe heardlice with-feaht mid tham mannum the him ge-læstan woldon. And thær wearth micel wæl ge-slægen on ægthre healf: Thær wearth of-slægen *Harold* kyng and *Leofwine* eorl, his brothor; and *Gyrth* eorl, his brothor; and fela godra manna: And tha *frenciscan* ahton wæl-stowe gewæld,—eall-swa heom god uthe for folces synnon. *Ealdred* arcebisceop and seo *burh-warū* on *Lundene* woldon habban tha *Eadgar*, cild, to kyng, eall-swa him wel ge-cynde wæs; and *Eadwine* and *Morkere* him beheton thæt hi mid him feohtan woldon, ac swa hit æfre *forthlicor* beon sceolde swa wearth hit fram dæge to dæge *lætre* and *wyrre* eall-swa hit æt tham ende eall ge-ferde. This ge-feoht wæs ge-don on thone dæge *Cælesti pape* [hic est 12<sup>o</sup> die octobris.] And *Wyllelm* eorl for eft on-gean to *Hæstingan* and ge-an-bidode thær *hwæther* man him to bugan wolde, ac tha he ongeat thæt man him to cuman nolde he for upp mid eallon his here the him to lase wæs, and him syththan fram ofer sæ com, and hergade ealne thone ende the he oferferde oth thæt he com to *Beorh-ham-stede*: and thær him com on-gean *Ealdred* arcebisceop and *Eadgar* cild and *Eadwine* eorl and *Morkere* eorl and ealle tha *betstan men* of *Lundene* and bugon tha for neode, *tha mæst wæs to hearme ge-don: and that wæs micel unræd that man æror swa ne dyde, tha hit god betan nolde for urum synnum:*)—and gysledan, and sworon him athas; and he *heom be-het thæt he wolde heom hold-*

hlaforð *beon*: and *theah*, on-mang *thissan*, hi hergedan eall *thæt* hi ofer-foron. Tha, on *midwintres dæg* hine halgode to kyng *Ealdred* arcebisceop on *Westmynstre*; and he sealde him on hand mid *xpes* bec, and eac *swor*, ær than the he wolde tha corona him on heafode settan-*thæt* he wolde *thisne* theodscype swa wel haldan swa ænig kyng *æt-foran* him betst dyde gif hi him holde beon woldon, swa *theah* leide gyld on mannum swithe stith; and for tha on *tham lengtene* ofer sæ to *Normandige*, and nam mid him *Stigand* arcebisceop and *Ægelnath* abbot on *Glastinga-biri* and *Eadgar* cild and *Eadwine* eorl and *Morkere* eorl and *Waltheof* eorl and *manege othre gode men* of *Engla-lande*, and *Oda* bisceop and *Wyllelm* eorl be-lifen her æfter, and worhton castelas wide geond *thas* theode and earm folc swencte; and á syththan hit yfelade swithe: Wurthe *God* se ende thonne god wylle.

MLXVII. Her com se kyng eft ongear to *Engla-lande* on *se Nicolaes-mæsse-dæge*. And *thæs dæges* for-barn *Cristes* cyrce on *Cantwarebyri*. And Wulfwi bisceop forthferde, and is bebyrged æt his bisceop-stole on *Dorka-cestre*. And *Eadric* cild and tha *Bryttus* wurdon un-sehte, and wunnon heom with tha *castel menn* on *Hereforda* and fela hearmas heom dydon. And her *se kyng* sette micel gyld on earm folc, and *theah-hwæthre* let æfre hergian eall *thæt* hi ofer-foron: and tha he ferde to *Defenascire* and besæt tha burh *Exancester* xviii dages: and *thær* wearth micel his heres for-faren; ac he heom wel behet and yfele gelæste, and hig him tha burh ageafon forthan tha *Thegenas* heom geswicon hæfdon. And *thæs sumeres* *Eadgar* cild for ut mid his modor *Agatha* and his *twam sweostran* *Margareta* and *Xpina*, and *Mærla-Swoegen* and fela godra manna mid heom, and comon to *Scotland* on

*Malcolmes* cyninges grith; and he hi ealle underfeng.\* Tha begann gyrnan his sweostor him to wife *Margaretan*, ac he and his menn ealle lange with-cwædon, and ea heo-sylf with-soc and cwæth thæt heo hine ne nanne habban wolde gyf hire *seo wiflice arfastnys ge-wonan wolde thæt heo on mægh-hæde mihtigan drihtne mid lichaman heortan on thisan life sceortan on clænre for-hæfednysse cweinan mihte*. Se kyng befealh georne hire brether oth thæt he cwæth ia with; (and eac he elles ne dorste forthan the he on hisan wald becumene.wæron.) Hit wearth tha swa ge-worden swa God fore-sceawode on ær, (—and elles hit beon ne mihte,—) eall swa he-sylf on his godspell sæith thæt *furthor an Spearwa on gryn ne mæg be-feallan for-utan his fore-sceawunge*. Se fore-witola scyppend wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre ge-don habban wolde, forthan the heo sceolde on tham land godes lof ge-eacnian and thone kyng gerihtan of tham dweliandan pæthe, and ge-begean hine to beteran wege and his leode samod, and alegcean tha un-theawas the seo theod ær be-eode eall swa heo syththan dyde. Se kyng hi tha under-feng, (theah hit hire unthances wære,) and him ge-licade hire theawas and thancode *Gode* the him swylce ge-mæcctan mihtiglice forgeaf; and wislice hine bethohte, swa he full witter wæs, and awende hine sylfne to *Gode* and ælce unsiuernysse ofer-hagode. Be tham æ *apostol Paulus*, ealra theoda lareow cwæth *Salvabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem: sic et mulier infidelem per uirum fidelem et.ri*: this on uran getheode, “ful oftse un-ge-leaf-fulla wer bith gehalgad and ge-hæled thurh thiet riht-wise wif: and swa

\* In the copy *Laud*, this account ends more shortly: thus—“and genam thes cildes swuster to wife *Margaretan*.”

gelice that wifthurh ge-leaf-fulnewer: "Theos for-sprecene cwen seoththan on tham lande manege nytwyrthe dæda ge-fremede *Gode* to lofe; and eac on tha kyne-wisan wel getheh, eall swa hire gecynde wæs. Of geleaf-fullan and æthelan cynne heo wæs asprungon,—hire fæder wæs *Eadboord* Ætheling, *Eadmundes* sunu kynges; *Eadmund*, æthelreding; *Æthelred*, eadgaring; *Eadgar* eadreding; and swa forth, on thæt cyne-cynn; and hire modor-cynn gæth to *Heinrice* Casere the hæfde an-wold ofer *Rome*. And her ferde *Gytha* ut *Haroldes* modor, and manegra godra manna wif mid hyre into bradan *reotices*, and thær wunode sume hwile, and swa for thanon ofer sæ to *See Audomare*. On thisan Eastren come se kyng to *Wincestre*:—and tha wæron *Eastra* on x *kl. April*. And sona æfter tham com *Mathild*, seo hlæfdie, hider to lande, and *Ealdred* arcebisceop hig gehalgode to cwenen on *Westmynstre* on hwitan-sunnon-dæge.—Tha kythde man than kyninge thæt thæt folc be northan hæfdon heom gegaderad togædere, and woldon him on-gean standan gif he come; he for tha to *Snotinga-ham* and worhte thær castel; and for swa to *Eoferwic* and thær worhte twegen castelas; and on *Lincolna* and ge-hwat on than ende. And *Gospatric* eorl and tha betstan men foron into *Scotlande*. And, amang thisan, coman *Haroldes* suna of *Yrlande* mid scyp-here into *Afenan-muthan* un-wær, and hergode sona ofer eall thone ende: foron tha to *Brygge-stowe*, and tha burh a-brecan woldon; ac seo burh-warū heom heardlice with-feaht: and tha hi ne mihton of thære burh naht gewinnan hi foron tha to scypan mid than the hi gehegod hæfdon, and swa hi foron on *Sumerseton* and thær upp eodon, and *Eadnoth* Stallere heom with ge-feaht and wearth thær of-slægen, and manege gode mienn on ægthre healfe; and thanon aweig foron the thær to lafe wæron.

MLXVIII. Her on thissum geare *Willelm* cyng geaf *Rodbearde* eorle thone caldordome ofer *North-Hymbraland*, ac tha landes-menn hine beforon innan there burh æt *Dunholme*; and hine of-slogon and ix.c. manna mid him. And sona thær-æfter *Eadgar* Etheling com mid eallum *North-Hymbrum* to *Eoferwic* and tha burh-menn with him grythedon; and *Wyllelm* kyng com *suthan* on-unwær on heom mid geotendan here and hi aflymde, and tha of-sloh tha the æt-fleon ne mohton, (thæt wæron fela hund manna,) and tha *burh* for-hergode and sce Petres mynster to bysmere macede, and ealle tha othere eac for-hergode and for-byrnde: and se Ætheling for eft ongean to *Scotlande*. Æfter thissum comon *Haroldes* sunas of *Yrlande*, to tham middan sumera, mid lxiii scypum, into Taw-muthan, and thær un-wærlice up eodon; and Breon eorl comon unwær heom to-geines mid un-lytlan weorode, and with gefeagt, and of-sloh thær ealle tha betstan menn the on tham lythe wæron; and tha othere lytlan werode to scypum æt-flugon: and Haroldes sunas foron eft to *Yrlande* ongean. Her forthferde ALDRED arcebiſceop on Eoferwic, and is thær bebyrged æt his biſceop-stole: and he gewat on thone dæg PROTI ET IACINTHI, and he heold thone arce-stole mid mycclun weorth-myme x gear buton xv wucan wanan. Sona thær-æfter comon of *Denmarcon* threo *Swegenes* suna *kyninges* mid cc scipum and xl, —and *Osbeorn* eorl and *Thurkyl* eorl into *Hambran*, and heom com thær togenes *Eadgar* cild and *Waldtheof* eorl and *Merleswegen* and *Gospatric* eorl mid *Northymbrum*, and ealle tha landleoden, ridende and gangende, mid un-mætan here swithe fægengende, and swa ealle an-rædlice to *Eoferwic* foron and thone castel to-bræcon and to-wurpan, and un-arimedlice gæsuman thær-inne gewunnan, and fela hund manna frenciscra

thær of-slogon, and fela mid heom to scypan lædian : and ær than the tha scyp-menn thider comon hæfdon tha frenciscan tha burh for-bærned and eac thæt halie mynstre *scs Petrus* eal-for-hergod and for-bærned. Tha se kyng this geaxode tha for he northward mid ealre his fryde the he gegaderian mihte and tha scire mid-ealle for-hergode and aweste. And thæt lith læg ealne winter innan *Humbre* thær se cyng heom to cuman ne mihte. And se kyng wæs thone mid-wintres-dæi on *Eoferwic* and swa ealne thone winter on tham lande, and com to *Wincestre* on tha ilcan Easton: and *Ægelric* bisceop wæs forwreged the wæs on *Burh*, and hine man lædde to *Westmynstre*, and ut-lagode his brother *Ægelwine* bisceop.

MLXXI.\* Her se eorl *Waltheof* grythode with thone cyng: and thæs on lengten se kyng let bergian ealle tha mynstra the on Engla-lande wæron. And thæs geres wæs micel hunger: and man hergade thæt mynster æt *Burh*: (thæt wæron tha menn tha se biscop *Ægelric* ær amansumade forþam the hi namon thær eall thæt he ahte.) And thæs ilcan sumeres com thæt lith into *Te-mese*, and lagon thær twa niht, and heoldon sythþan to *Denmarcon*. And *Baldawine* eorl forthferde; and *Arnulf*, his sunu feng to than rice; and *francena* kyning and *Wyllelm* eorl sceoldon beon his *ge-hæld*, ac thær com *Rodbeart* and of-sloh *Arnulf* his mæg and thone eorl *Wyllelm*, and thone kyng aflymde; and of-sloh his manna fela thusenda.

MLXXII.† Her *Eadwine* eorl and *Morkere* eorl hlupon ut, and mislice ferdon on *wuda* and on *feldon* oþh thæt *Eadwine* wearth of-slægen fram his agenum mannum, and *Morkere* mid scype gewende to *Helig*: and thær com

\* See Hist. Petrob. MLXX.—Joss.

† Hist. Pet. MLXXI.—Joss.

*Ægelwine* bisceop and *Sigwarth Barn* and fela hund manna mid heom. Ac tha se kyng *Willelm* this ge-ahsade tha bead he ut scyp-fyrde and land-fyrde, and thaet land eall abutan sætte, and brycge ge-worhte, and inn for; and scyp-fyrde on tha sæ healf: and hi ealle tha eodon than cyninge on hand; thaet was *Ægelwine* bisceop and *Morkere* eorl and ealle tha the mid heom wæron, butan *Herwerde* anum and ealle tha the mid him æt-fleon mihton, and he hi ahtlice ut-alædde. And se cyng nam heora *scypa*, and *wæpna*, and manega *sceattas*; and tha men ealle he ateah, and dyde of heom thaet he wolde: and *Ægelwine* bisceop he sende to *Abbandune*; and he thaer forthferde.

MLXXIII.\* Her *Wyllelm* kyng lædde scyp-ferde and land-fyrde to *Scotlande*, and thaet land on tha sæ healf mid scypum ymb læig and him-self mid his land-fyrde ferde inn ofer thaet wæth; and he thaer naht ne funde thaes the heom the betere wære: and *Malcolm* cyng com and grythode with *Wyllelm* cyng, and was his mann, and him gislas salde: And he syththan ham-gewende mid ealre his fyrde. And se bisceop *Ægetric* forthferde: he wæs to bisceope ge-hadode to *Eoferwic*, ac hit wæs mid un-rihte him of ge-numen, and geaf him thaet bisceoprice æt *Dunholme*, and he hit hæfde tha hwile the he wolde, and for-let hit aiththan and ferde to *Burh* to sce *Petres* Mynstre, and thaer drohtnod xii-gear; Tha æfter tham the *Willelm* gewann *Engla-land* he let hine nyman of *Burh*, and sende hine to *Westmynstre*; and he thaer forthferde on Id. Octob., and is thaer bebyr-ged innan sce *Nicolues* portice.

MLXXIV.† An thisan gere *Willelm* cyng lædde *Eng-*

\* MLXXII. in Hist. Petrob.—*Joss.*

† MLXXIII. in Hist. Petrob.—*Joss.*

*lice fyrde and Francisce ofer sæ and gewann thæt land. Mans : and hit Englisce menn swithe amærdon ; win-gear-das hi for-dydon, and burga for-bærndan, and thæt land swithe amyrdon : and eall thæt land ge-begdon than kyninge to handan : and hig seoththan ham gewendan.*

MLXXV.\* On thissum gere *Wyllelm* cynge for ofer sæ to *Normandige* : and *Eadgar* cild com of *Fleminga-lande* into *Scotlande* on *se Grimbaldes mæsse-dæg*, and se kyng *Malcolm* and his sweostor *Margareta* hine under-fengon mid mycclan weorth-scype. On thære ilcan tide sende se kyng of *Franc-ric*e, *Filippus*, ge-writ to him, and bead him thæt he to him come, and he wolde geofan him thone castel æt *Mustral* that he mihte syththan dæghwamlice his unwinnan un-thancas don. Hwæt that ? se cyng *Malcolm* and his sweostor *Margareta* geofon him mycela geofa and manega gærsama and eallon his mannan on scynnan mid pælle betogen, and on mertherne pyleceon and grascyn-nene and hearma scynnene, and on 'pællon, and on gyl-denian fæton and on seolfrenan, and hine and ealle his scyperan mid mycclan weorthscype of his grythe alædde : ac on thære fere heom yfele ge-lamp : Tha hi ut on sæ wæron thæt heom on be-com swithe threoh wede ; and seo wode sæ and se stranga wind hi on thæt land awearp thæt ealle heora scypa to-burston, and hi-sylfe earfothlice to land comon and heora gærsama for-neh eall lo-sade, and his men eac wurdon sume ge-læhte of fren-ciscan mannan : ac he-sylf and his ferestan men ferdon eft ongean to *Scotlande* sume hreowlice on-fotan gangende, and sume earmlice ridende. Tha ge-rædde se kyng *Malcolm* him thæt he sende to *Wyllelme* cyng ofer sæ and bæd his grythes, and he eac swa dyde : and se cyng him thæs ge-tithade, and æfter him sende : and se kyng eft *Malcolm* and his sweostor him and eallon his mannan

\* MLXXIV. in Hist. Petrob.—Joss.



unarimede gærsama geafou, and swithe weorthlice hine eft of heora grythe sendon. And se Scir-gerefa of *Eofer-wic* com him togeanes æt *Dunholme* and ferde ealne weig mid him and let him findan *mete* and *foddor* æt ælcæn castelle thæt he to comon oth thæt hig ofer sæ to tham kyninge coman. And se kyng *Wyllelm* mid mycclan weorthscype tha hine under-fenge. And he wæs thær tha on his hirede; and nam swilce gerihta swa he him ge-uthe.

MLXXVI.\* On thisan geare *Wyllelm* cyng geaf *Raulf* eorle *Wyllelmes* dohtor *Osbornes sunu*: and se ylca *Raulf* wæs *Bryttisc* on his modor healfe, and *Rawulf* his fæder wæs *Englisc* and wæs geboren on *Northfolce*: and se kyng geaf forði his sunu thær *thone* eorldom, and *Suthfolc* eac: He tha lædde thæt wif to *Northwic*;—Thær wæs thæt bryd-ealo that wæs manegra manna bealo: Thær wæs *Rogger* eorl and *Waltheof* eorl and biscopas and abbodas; and ræddon thær thæt hi woldon heora kyne-hlaford of his cyne-ricce adrifon: And thæs wæs tham cyninge sona to *Normandie* ge-cythed *Rawulf* eorl and *Rogger* eorl wæron hoftlingas æt thisan un-ræde. And hi speonan heom to tha *Bryttas* and sendon eac to *Denemarcon* æfter Scyp-

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\* MLXXV. Sic Hist. Petrob.—*Joss.* and runs thus:—

“On thissum geare *Willelm* cyng geaf *Raulf* eorle *Wyllelmes* dohtor *Osbornes sunu*; and se ylca *Raulf* wæs *brit-tisc* on his modor-healfe and his fæder wæs *Englisc*, *Raulf* hatte, and wæs geboren on *North-folce*.\* Tha geaf se cyng his sunu *thone* eorl-dom on *North-folc* and *Suth-folc*. Tha lædde he thæt wif to *Northwic*; thær wæs thæt bryd-eala mannum to beala. Thær wæs *Rogger* eorl and *Waltheof* eorl and biscopas and abbotes. And ræd-

\* In the lost Peterborough copy, *Suth-folce*.

here, and *Rogcer* ferde to his eorldome, and gaderade his folc than cyng to unthearfe he thohte; ac hit wearth heom-seolfan to mycclan hearne. *Raulf* eac wolde on his eorldom forthgan, ac tha castel-menn the wæron on *Engla-lande* and eac thæt land-folc heom togeanes comon, and hi ealle geletton thæt hi naht ne dydon, ac wæs fægen thæt he to scypum æt-fleah, and his wif belaf æfter in tham castele; and hine swa lange heold oth thæt man hire gryth salde, and heo tha ut-ferde of *Engla-lande* and ealle hire men the hire mid woldon. And se kyng syththan com to *Engla-lande* and gefeng *Rogcer* eorl his mæg and sete on prisun. And *Waltheof* eorl ferde ofer sæ and wreide hine sylfne and bæd forgyfenysse and bead gæsuman, ac se kyng let lihtlice of oth thæt he com to *Engla-lande* and hine let siththan taccan. And sona æfter thisan coman of *Denmarcon* twa hund

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don thær swa thæt hi woldon thone cyng gesettan ut of *Engla-landes-cyne-dome*: and hit wearth sona gecydd tham cyng to *Normandige* hu hit wæs geræd. Thæt wæs *Roger* eorl and *Raulf* eorl the wæron yldost to tham unreode. And hi speonan tha *Brittas* heom to and sendon east to *Denmarcon* æfter scip-here heom to fultume; and *Roger* ferde west to his eorl-dome, and gegaderode his folc to thæs cynges unthearfe, ac he wearth gelet. And *Raulf* eac on his eorl-dome wolde forthgan mid his folc ac tha castel-men the wæren on *Engle-lande*\* and eac thæt land-folc him to-geanes comon and ge-macadon thæt he

\* A *Wulstano Wigorniensi Episcopo, et Agelwio abbate Loveshamensi, Ursone vice-comite Wigorniae, et Waltero de Luceio* (*Flor. Wig.*) This is strong evidence that these *Annals* are *Wulstan's*.

scypa, thær-on wæron *hæfdes-menn Cnut, Swægnes sunu cynges*, and *Hacon* eorl; and ne dorston nan gefeoht healdan with *Willelme* cynge, ac ferdon to *Eoferwic* and brecon *se Petres* mynstre and tocon thær-inn mycele ahta, and foron swa aweg.—Ac ealle tha forferdon the æt tham ræde wæron; thæt wæs *Hacones* sunu *eortes* and *manega othre* mid him. And *Eadgyth* seo hlæfdie forthferde (*seo wæs Eadwardes* cynges geresta) seofon niht ær xpes mæssan on *Winestre*; and se cyng hine let bryngan to *Westmynstre* mid mycclan weorthscype, and leide heo with *Eadwarde* cyng hire hlaforde. Se kyng wæs tha thone mid-winter on *Westmynstre*: Thær man fordemde ealle tha *Bryttas* the wæron æt tham bryd-lope æt

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naht ne dyde: Ac for to scype æt *Northwic*; and his wif wæs innan tham castele, and hine heold swa lange thæt mæn hine grith sealde: and *heo* ut-ferde tha of *Engla-lande* and ealle hire men the hire mid woldon. And se cyng siththan com to *Engla-lande* and ge-nam *Roger* eorl his mæg and ge-festnode hine; and *Waltheof* eorl he ge-nam eac. And sona æfter tham comon easton of *Denmearcon* cc scipa, and thær-on wæron twegen heofod menn *Cnut*, *Swægnes* sunu, and *Hacon* eorl; and hi ne dorstan nan ge-feoht healdan with *Willelm* cyng ac heoldan ofer sæ to *Flandron*. And *Eadgyth* seo hlæfdig forthferde on *Winestre* VII nihton ær Cristes mæssan; and se cyng hi let bryngan to *West-mynstre* mid mycclan wurthscipe and lægde hi with *Eadweard* kyng hire hlaforde. And Se wæs on *West-mynstre* thone midde winter; and man for-dyde thær ealle tha *Bryttas* the wæron æt tham bryd-ealoth æt *Northwic*. Sume hi wurdon ablænde, and sume of lande adrifene: swa wurdon *Willelmes* swican ge-nithrade.”

*Northwic*: Sume hi wurdon ge-blende; and sume wreocen of lande; and sume ge-tawod to scande: Thus wurdon thæs kyninges swican ge-nytherade.

MLXXVII.\* On thisam geare forthferde *Swoegen* kyng on *Denemarcon*; and *Harold* his sunu feng to his cyne-ricc. Her *Willelm* cyng geaf thæt abbotrice æt *West-mynstre* Fithle abbode: se wæs ær munuc æt *Bernege*: and her wæs *Waltheof* eorl be-heafod on *Wincestre* on sce *Petro-nella* mæsse dæg; and his lichaman wearth ge-læd to *Cru-lunde*, and he thær is behyrged. And *Wyllelm* cyng for ofer sæ and lædde fyrde to *Brytlande*, and besæt thone castel æt *Dol*; ac tha *Bryttas* hine heoldon oth thæt se cyng com of *Franc-ricc*, and *Wyllelm* cyng tha thanon for: and thær for-leas ægther menn and hors and unarimede gærsaman.

MLXXVIII.† Her se mona athystrode threom nihton ær candel-mæssan: and *Ægelwig*, se woruld-snotra abbot on *Eofeshamme*, forthferde on sca *Iuliana* mæsse-dæg; and *Waltere* wæs to abbote ge-sæt on his stede: and *Hereman* bisceop forthferde; se wæs bisceop on *Bærruc-scire* and on *Wiltunscire* and on *Dorsætan*. And her *Malcholom* kyng gewan *Mælslehtan* modor [a line blank in the original] and ealle his betstan menn, and ealne his *gersuman*; and his *orf*, and he-sylf uneathe æt-bærst [six lines blank in the original] and her wæs se dria rumor, and wilde-fyr com on manega scira and for-bærnde fela tuna; and eac manega burga for-bunon.

MLXXIX.‡ Her *Rodbert* thæs cynges sunu *Wyllelm* hleop fram his fæder to his eame *Rotbryhte* on *Flandron*, for-than the his fæder ne wolde him lætan waldan his eorl-

\* MLXXVI. in Hist. Petrob.—*Joss.*

† MLXXVII. in Hist. Petrob.—*Joss.*

‡ MLXXVIII. in Hist. Petrob.—*Joss.*

domes on *Normandige* the he-sylf, and eac se kynge *Filippus*, mid his gethafunge, him ge-gyfen hæfdon : and tha the betst wæron on tham lande hæfdon athas him geswōron and hine to hlaforde genumen. Her *Rotbert* feht with his fæder and hine on tha hand ge-wundade ; and his hors wearth under of-scoten, and *se* the him other to brohte wearth thær-rihte mid anan *arblaste* of-scoten ; thæt wæs *Tokig*, *Wiggodes sunu* : and fela thær wurden of-slægen, and eac gefangene. And *Rotbert* eft gewende to *Fleminga-lande* : Ne wylle we theh her na mare scathe writan the he his fæder ge-

Here ends the ancient copy, *Tiberius*, *B. IV.* in the middle of a leaf, the bottom half of which is cut away ; there is little lost, however, for the reverse of the leaf is blank.

From the year 1070, *these Annals* are paraphrased in the copy *Laud*, which copy contains nothing of Wulstan's after this year, except the years 1083, 1085 and 1086, which immediately follow.

[From the Copy *LAUD*.]

MLXXXIII. Her on thissum geare forthferde Mahtild Willelmes cynges cwen on thone dæg æfter ealra halgena mæsse-dæg : and on thæs ilcan geares æfter mid-winter se Cyng let beodan mycel gild aud hefelic ofer eall Engla-land ; thæt wæs ælcere hyde twa and hund seofenti peanega.

MLXXXV.\* Her se cyng bær his corona and heold his

\* There are two articles of 1085, but only the one here inserted appears to be Wulstan's. That it begins with *Easter*, may be owing to *Remaldus* : an attempt, perhaps,

hired on *Winceastre* to tham *Eastran*: and swa he ferde  
 thaet he wæs to tham *Pentecosten* æt *Wast-minstre*: and  
 dubbade his sunu *Henric* to ridere thær. Syththan he  
 ferde abutan swa thaet he com to Lam-mæssan to *Seare-*  
*byrig*: and thær him comon to, his witan. And ealle  
 tha lande-sittende men the ahtes wæron ofer eall *Engle-*  
*land* wæron *thes mannes* men the hi wæron; and ealle hi  
 bugon to him and weron *his* menn and him hold-athas  
 sworon thaet hi woldon ongean ealle othre men him  
 holde beon. Thanon hi ferde into *Wiht* for-thig he  
 wolde faran into *Normandige*; and swa dyde syththan.  
 And theah he dyde ærest, æfter his gewunan, begeat  
 swithe micelne sceott of his mannan thær he mihte  
 ænige teale to habban, oththe *mid riht* oththe *elles*. Ferde  
 tha syththan into *Normandige*: and *Ædgar Ætheling*,  
*Ædwardes* mæg cynges, beah tha fram him for-thig he  
 næfde na mycelne wurthsceipe of him; (ac se ælmihtiga  
 God him gife wurthsceipe on tham to-weardan): and  
*Cristina* thæs Æthelinges swuster beah into *Mynstre* to  
*Rumesege* and underfeng halig rest. And thæs ilcan  
 geares wæs swithe hefelic gear and swithe swincfull  
 and sorhfull gear innan *Engle-lande* on orf-cwealme; and  
 corn and wæstmas wæron æt-standene and swa mycel  
 un-gelimp on wæderunge swa man naht æthelic gethen-  
 cean ne mæg: swa storthunring and læht wæs swa thaet  
 hit acwealde manige men: and à à hit wyrsoðe mid  
 mannon swithor and swithor. Gebete hit God elmihtiga  
 thonne his willa sy.

MLXXXVI. Æfter ure drihtnes Hælendes Cristes ge-  
 byrtide an thusend wintra and seofan and hund eahtatig

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to make the Worcester reckoning square with his own,  
 which he afterwards abandoned. He has made some  
 other confusion of dates about this time.

wintra on tham an and twentigan geara thaes the Willelm weolde and stihthe Engle-land swa him god uthe—gewearth swithe hefelic and swithe wold-berendlic gear on thiasum lande. Swilc cothe com on mannum thaet fullneah æfre other man wearth on tham wyrrestan yfele, thaet is, on tham drife; and thet swa stranglice thaet mænige men swulton on tham yfele. Syththan com thurh tha mycclan un-gewiderung the comon swa we beforan tealdon swithe mycel hungor ofer eall *Engle-land* thaet manig hundred manna earmlice deathe swulton thurh thone hungor. Eala! hu earmlice and hu reowlic tid wæs tha! Tha tha wreccæ men lægon for-drifene fullneah to deathe and syththan com se scearpa hungor and adyde hi mid-ealle. Hwam ne mæg earmian swylcere tide? oththe hwa is swa heord heort thaet ne mæg wepan swylces ungelimpes? Ac swylce thing gewurthath for folces synna thaet hi nellath lufian god and rihtwisenesse. Swa swa hit wæs tha on tham dagum thaet litel rihtwisenesse wæs on thisum lande mid ænige men.\* Se cyng and tha heafod-men lufedon swithe and ofer-swithe getsung on golde and on seolfre: and ne rohton hu synlice hit wære begytan butan hit com to heom. Se cyng sealde his lande swa deore to male swa heo deorost mihte, thonne com sum other and beade mare thonne the other ær sealde and se cyng hit lett tham menn the him mare bead: Thonne com se thridde and bead geat mare; and se cyng hit lett tham men to handa the him callra meast bead: and ne rohte na hu swithe synlice tha Gerefan hit begeaton of earme mannon ne hu manige unlaga hi dydon. Ac swa man swithor spæc embe *rihte lage*, swa man dyde mare *un-laga*. Hi arerdon un-riht tollas,

\* [Buton mid munecan ane, *thær* thaer hi wæl ferdon.]  
—*Remaldus* ut patet.

and manige othre *un-rihte* hi dydan the syndon earfethe to arecceune. Eac on tham ilcan geare æt-foran hærfeste forbarn thæt halige mynstre *Sce Paule* the biscopstole on *Lundene* and mænige othre mynstres and thæt mæste dæl and thæt rotteste ealle thære burh. Swylc eac on tham ilcan timan for-barn full-neah ælc heofod-port on eallon Engle-lande. Eala! reowlic and wependlic tid wæs thæs geares the swa manig un-gelimp wæs forth-bringende. Eac on tham ilcan geare toforan *Assumptio sce Marie* for *Willelm* cyng, of *Normandige* into *France* mid fyrde; and hergode uppan his agenne hlaforð *Philippe* tham cyng; and sloh of his mannon mycelne dæl, and for-bearnde tha burh *Mathante* and ealle tha halige mynstres the wæron innon thære burh: and twegen halige menn the hyrsumedon Gode ou ancer-settle wuniende-thær wæron for-bearnde. Thissum thus gedon se cyng *Willelm* ceorde ongean to *Normandige*. Reowlic thing he dyde and reowlicor him gelamp:—Hu reowlicor?—Him ge-yfelade and thæt him stranglice eglade. Hwæt mæg ic teollan? Se scearpa deathe, the ne forlet ne rice menne ne heane,—*seo* hine genam. He swealt on *Normandige* on thone nextan dæg æfter *Nativitas sce Marie*: and man bebyrged hine on Cathum æt *Sce Stephanes mynstre*; ærer he hit arærde and siththan mæni-fealdlice ge-godade. Eala! hu leas hu un-wrest is thines middan eardes wela! Se the wæs ærur rice cyng and maniges landes hlaforð he næfde *tha* ealles landes butan *seofan fot* mæl. And *se* the wæs hwilon gescrið mid gold and mid gimnum he læg *tha* ofer-wrogen mid moldan. He læfde after him threo sunan *Rodbeard* het, se yldesta, se wæs eorl on *Normandige* æfter him; se other het *Willelm* the bær æfter him on Engle-land thone kinehelm; se thridda het *Heanrie*, tham se fæder becwæth gersuman un-ateallendlice. Gif hwa ge-wilned to-



ge-witane hu gedon man hi wæs, oththe hwilcne wurth-scipe he hæfde, oththe hu fela lande he wære hlaford, thonne wil we be him awritan swa swa we hine ageaton the him on-locodan and othre hwile on his hirede wunedon.

Se cyng Willelm the we embe spacath wæs swithe wis man and swythe rice and wurthfulre and strengere thone ænig his for-gengra. He wæs *milde* tham godum mannum the God lufedon; and ofer-eall-gemett *stearc* tham mannum the *with-cwædon his willan*. On tham ilcan steode the God him geuthe that he moste Engle-land gegan he arerde mære mynster and munecas thær gessette and hit wæll ge godade. On hæs dægon wæs the mære mynster on *Cantwarbyrig* ge-tymbrad; and eac swithe manig other ofer eall Engla-land: Eac this land wæs swithe afilld mid munecan, and tha leofodan heora lif æfter *scs Benedictus* regule: and se Cristendom wæs swilc on his dæg that æc man hwæt his hade to belumpe for-gade, *se* the wolde. Eac he wæs swythe wurthful,—thriwa he bær his cynehelm ælc geare swa oft swa he wæs on Engle-lande: On *Eastron* he hine bær on *Winestre*, on *Pentecosten* on *Westminstre*, on *Midewinter* on *Gleanocestre*. And thænne wæron mid him eall tha rice menn ofer eall Engla-lande—arcebiscopas and leod-biscopas abbodas and eorlas thegnas and cnihtas.\* Swylce he was eac swythe stearc man and ræthe swa thæt man ne dorste nan thing ongean his willan don. He hæfde eorlas on his bendum

\* Rex Willielmus consuetudinem induxerat quam successores aliquandiu tritam postmodum consenescere permisere: ea erat ut ter in anno Cuncti Optimates ad curiam convenirent de necessariis Regni tractaturi, simulque visuri Regis insigne, quomodo iret gemmato fastigiatu diademate. &c.—*Malmesb. Vit. S. Wulst.* ii. 12.

the dydan ongean his willan : *biscopas* he sætte of heora biscoprice, and *abbodas* of heora abbodrice, and *thægnas* on cweartern : and æt-nextan he ne sparode his agenne brothor Odo het. He was swythe rice biscop on Normandige,—on Raius wæs his biscop-stol,—and wæs manna fyrrest to eacan tham cyng, and he hæfde eorl-dome on Engle-lande, and thonne wæs se cyng on Normandige thonne wæs *he* mægest on thisum lande;—and hine he sætte on cweartern. Betwyx othrum thingum nys na to forgytane thæt gode *frith* that be macode on thison lande swa that an man the him-sylf aht wære miht faran ofer his rice his bosum full goldes un-gederad :—and nan man ne dorste slean otherne man, næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon with thone otherne : and gif hwilc carl-man hælde with wimman, hire un-thances, sona he forleaf tha limu the he mid pleagode. He rixade ofer *Engla-lund* and hit mid his geapscipe swa thurh-smeade thæt næs an hid landes innan *Engla-lunde* thæt he nyste hwa heo hæfde, oththe hwas heo wurth wæs, and siththan on his gewrit ge-sætt. *Brytland* him wæs on gewearde and he thær-inne casteles gewrohte, and het Mann-cynn [Isle of Man] mid-ealle gewearde; swilce eac *Scotland* he him under-thædde, for his mycele strengthe :—*Normandige*—(thæt land wæs his gecynde)—and ofer thone eorl-dome the *Mans* is gehaten he rixade; and gif he moste thagyt twa gear libban he hæfde *Yrlande* mid his wer-scipe gewunnon and with utan ælcon wæpnon.—Witodlice on his timan hæfdon men mycel geswinc, and swythe manegon teonan : Castelas he let wyrcean and earne men swythe swencean se cyng wæs swa swythe stearc : And beonam of his under-theoddan man mænig marc goldes and na hundred punda seolfres thet he nam *be rihte* and *mid mycelan unrihte* of his leode for littelre neode. He wæs on gitsunge be-feallan, and

grædinæsse he lufode mid-ealle. He sætte mycel deor-frith, and he hæfde laga thær-with thet swa-hwa-swa sloge heort oththe hinde thet hine man sceolde blendian. He for-bead tha heortas swylce eac tha baras; swa swythe he lufode tha hea-deor swylce he wære theora fæder: Eac he sætte be tham haran thet hi mosten freo faran. His rice men hit mændon and tha earme men hit beceorodon, ac he swa *stith* wæs thet he ne rohte heora callra nith, ac hi moston mid-ealle thes cynges wille folgian gif hi woldon libban oththe land habban,—land oththe eahta—oththe wel his sehta.—Wa la wa! thet ænig man sceolde modig swa,—hine-sylf upp-ahebban;—and oferealle men tellan. *Se æl-mightiga God* cythe his saule mild-heortnisse, and do him his synna for-gifenesse—Thas thing we habbaþ he him gewritene ægther ge-gode ge-yfele thet tha godan men niman æfter theora godnesse and for-fleon mid-ealle yfelnesse, and gan on thone weg the us lett to heofonan-rice.

Fela thinga we magon writan the on tham ilcan gear gewordene wæron: Swa hit wæs an *Denmearc*an thet tha *Danes*can the wæs ærur geteald *callra folca getreowast* wurdon awende to thære mæste un-triwthe and to tham mæsten swicdome the æfre mihte gewurthan: Hi gecuron and abugon to *Cnute* cyng and him athas sworon; and siththan hine earhlice of-slogon innan anre cyrcean. Eac wearth on *Ispanie* thet tha hæthenan men foran and hergoden uppon tham Cristenan mannan, and mycel abegdan to heora anwealde, ac se cristena cyng, (*Anþas* wæs gehaten,) he sende ofer ealle into ælcan lande and gyrnde fultumes, and him com to fultum of ælcen lande the cristen wæs: and ferdon and of slogon and aweg adrifan eall thet hæthena folc, and gewunnon heora land ongan thurh Godes fultum.

Eac on thisan ilcan lande on tham ilcan gear forth-

ferdon manega rice men *Stigand* biscop of *Ciceastre*, and se abbot of *Sce Augustine* and se abbot of *Bathon* and the of *Perscoran* and tha heora eollra hlaford *Willelm* Engla-landes cyng the we ær beforan embe spæcon. Æfter his deathe his sune *Willelm* hæst (eall-swa the fæder) feng to tham rice, and wearth ge-bletsode to cyngre fram *Lanfrance* arce-biscope on *Westmynstre* threom dagum ær *Michael*es mæsse-dæg; and ealle tha men on *Engla-lande* him to abugon and him athas sworon. Thisum thus ge-done, se cyng ferde to *Winceastre* and sceawode thæt madme-hus and tha gersuman the his fæder ær gegaderode on golde and on seolfre and on faton and on pællan and on gimman and on manige othre deorwurthe thingon the earfothe syndon to atealene. Se cyng dyde tha swa his fæder him bebed ær he dead wære; dælde tha gersuman for his fæder saule to ælcen mynstre the wes innan *Engle-lande*: to suman mynstre x marc goldes, to suman vi; to ælcen cyrcean uppeland lx pænegas; and into ælcere scire man seonde hundred pundu feos to dælanne earme mannan for his saule. And ær he forth-ferde he bead thæt man sceolde un-lesan ealle tha menn the on hæftnunge wæron under his anwealde.—And se cyng wæs on tham mide-wintre on *Lundene*.

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SUPPLEMENT  
TO  
WULSTAN'S ANNALS.

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I HAVE good reason to suppose that the following articles (the first five from the *Tiberius*, *B. IV.*) are Wulstan's.

The reader will observe the important additions <sup>3</sup> to Wulstan's Annals, taken from the copy *Tiberius*, *B. I.*, and which are inserted in brackets. The three last articles of this supplement are also extracted from the same copy, and (as far as regards *Wulstan's* work) comprise every other material difference between the *Tib. B. I.* and the *Tib. B. IV.*

This difference is particularly worthy of notice in what relates to *Beorn*, a° 1049.

The compiler of this copy *Tiberius*, *B. I.* has inserted therein several entire years *from the*

*Annals, which we take to be Stigand's*, adapting the dates, however, to his own reckoning. Thus his years 1040, 1041, and 1042, agree in all respects with the same years in the other copy, *Tib. B. IV.*; but after that time, he made large extracts and indeed a principal use of Stigand's work.

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MXXVI. Her for *Ælfric* bisceop to *Rome* and on feng Pallium æt *Joanne* papan on ii *id. Novemb.*

MXXVIII. Her for *Cnut* cyng, of Engla-lande mid l. scypum to *Norwegum*, and adraf *Olaf* cyng of tham lande, and geanhade him eall thæt land.

MXXIX. Her com *Cnut* cyng eft ham to Engla-lande.

MXXX. Her com *Olaf* cyng eft into *Norwegum*; and thæt folc gegaderode him togeanes and him with gefuhton, and he wearth thær of-slægen.

MXXXI. Her for *Cnut* cyng to *Rome*: and sona swa he ham com tha for he to *Scotlande*, and *Scotta* cyng eode him on hand and wearth his mann; ac he thæt lytle hwile heold.\*

MXXXIX. Her com se mycla wind: And *Bryhtmar* biscep gefor on *Licet-felda*: And *Wealas* slogon *Eadwine* (*Leofrices* brother eorles) and *Thyril* and *Ælfget* and swithe fela godra manna mid heom: And her com ec *Harthacnut* to *Bricge* thær his modor wæs.

\* We have shewn that the following articles are spurious:

MXXXIII. Her forthferde *Leofsie* bisceop and his lichama resteth on *Wigra-ceastre*; and *Brihteh* wæs on his setl ahafen.

MXXXIV. Her wæs *Ælfric* bisceop forth-faren, and ligeth on *Ramesige*.

MXLIII. \* \* \* And *rathe thæs* man setto *Stigant* of his bisceoprice, and nam eal thæt he ahte tham cinge to handa, fortham he wæs nehst his modor ræde, and heo for swa-swa he hire rædde, thæs the men wendon.

MXLIX. Her on thisum geare se *Casere* gaderode [&c. as in *Tib. B. IV. ML.* as far as forth thæt se *Casere hæfde of Buldwine call thæt he wolde*; after which, as follows:] Tha com eft ongean *Swegen* eorl to Eadwerde cyng and gyraðe to him landes thæt he mihte hine on afedan, ac *Harold* his brother with-cwæth and *Beorn* eorl thæt hig noldon him agyfan nan thinge thæs the se cyng heom gegyfen hæfde. He com hider mid hiwunge cwæth thæt he wolde his man beon, and bæd *Beorn* eorl thæt he him on fultume wære; ac se cyng him æces thinges for-wyrnde. Tha gewende *Swegen* to his scypon to Bosanham; and for *Godwine* eorl fram *Sandwic* mid xlii scypon to *Pefena-sæ* and *Beorn* eorl forth mid him, and tha se cyng lysfe eallon *Myrceon* ham and hig swa dydon. Tha cydde man tham cyng thæt *Osgod* lage on *Ulpe* mid xxix scypon. Tha sende se cyng æfter tham scypon thæt he of-sendan mihte the innan *North-muthan* lagon, ac *Osgod* fette his wif on *Brige*, and wende eft ongean mid vi scypon, and tha othre foron on *East-Seaxon* to *Eadolfes-næsse* and thær hearm dydon, and wendon eft to scypon. Tha læg *Godwine* eorl and *Beorn* eorl on *Pefena-sæ* mid heora scypon. Tha com *Swegen* eorl mid facne and bæd *Beorn* eorl thæt he his gefera wære to tham cyng to *Sandwic*,—Cwæth thæt he him athas swerigan wolde and him hold beon. Tha wende *Beorn* for thære sibbe thæt he him swican nolde; nam tha iii geferan mid him and ridon tha to *Bosanham* eall swa hi sceoldon to *Sandwic* thær *Swegenes* scypa lagon. And hine man sona ge-bande and to scype lædde; and ferdon tha to *Darenta-muthan* and hine thær let of-slean, and deope be-delfan, ac *hine Harold* his mæg thar fette



and to *Winestre* lædde and thær bebyride with *Cnut* cing his cam. And se cyng tha and eall here cwæden *Swoegen* for-nithing. VIII scypa he hæfde ær he *Beorn* amyrthrode—syththan hine forleton ealle butan ii; and he gewende tha to *Brycge* and thar wunode mid *Baldwine*.

MLI. Her on thisum geare com *Rodbeard* arcebisceop hider ofer sæ mid his pallium. And on thys ylcan geare forthferde seo calde hlæfdige *Eadwerdes* cynges moder and *Harthacnutes* Imme hatte ii id. *Mart.* And hyre lic lith on ealdan mynstre with *Cnut* cyng.

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The article of 1083 is the work of *another* Saxon writer, and, in stile, very unlike any other part of the printed chronicle.

It was apparently part of the *Worcester MS.* transcribed by Remaldus, and *not* written at *Peterborough*, between which place and *Glastonbury* there was no connexion.

As *Wulstan* wrote little or nothing between 1079 and 1085, we may well suppose that the few intervening articles were written by the *Prior* of the time.

*Florence* says that *Wulstan* was made *Prior* after *Agelwinus* in 1058. He was made *Bishop* in 1062, and his brother *Ælfstanus* was made *Prior* in his stead: how long *Ælfstanus* lived is uncertain, but he died in *Wulstan's* lifetime.

“Allato sibi nuncio de sororis excessu, quam unicam habebat, responsit—*Modo aratrum ad meum pervenit sul-*

*cum ; sequeturque frater sororem non multis post diebus.*"—  
Malmesb. de Wulst. in pont. (ad fin.)

*Egelred* succeeded *Ælfstanus*, and *Thomas*, *Egelred*. It seems that *Thomas* was Prior in 1088 ; *certainly* at the time of *Wulstan's* last illness. (*See Life*, iii. 21.)

*Thomas*, I think, was a Frenchman, or he should have continued the Worcester Register instead of *Nicholas* : and if we may hazard another guess, he was one of *Lanfranc's monks* forced upon *Wulstan* for a chaplain about 1080, and amused himself with inventing his life : that is to say, *Thomas and Coleman are one*.

Malmesbury says, indeed, that *Wulstan* made *Coleman* Prior of *Westbury*, which was as near the truth as he cared to go. And what says *Florence* ? (vide 2, *Anglia Sacra*.)

"*Thomas*, Prior Wigorniensis, obiit sabbato iv. non. Octob. MCXIII." And iv. non. Octob. MCXIII. "*Obiit Colemannus*, monachus et capellanus Beati *Wulstani*."

We have seen that certain entries in *Florence* are spurious.\*

The Prior *Egelred* was certainly English.

\* So also in the *Chronicon Wigorniese* a Christo ad annum 1308, in Cotton's Library *Caligula A. x.* (where no other Prior is mentioned:)

"MCXIII. *Thomas* Prior Wigornie, et *Colemannus* monachus et capellanus beati *Wulstani* obierunt."

MLXXX. On thisum geare was se biscop *Walchere* ofslagen on *Dunholme* æt anum gemote and an hund manna mid him frencisce and flemisce : and he-sylfe was on *Hlotheringa* ge-boren :—This dydon *Northhymbran* on Maies monthe.

MLXXXI. On thisum geare se cyng lædde fyrde into *Wealan*, and thær ge-freode fela hund manna.

MLXXXII. Her nam se cyng *Odon* biscop, and her was mycel hungor.

MLXXXIII. On thisum geare aras seo un-ge-hwærnes on *Glæstinga-byrig* betwyx tham abbode *Thurstane* and his munecan : Ærest hit com of thæs abbotes un-wisdome thæt he misbead his munecan on fela thingan ; and tha munecas hit mændon lufelic to him, and beadon hine thæt he sceolde healdan hi rihtlic, and lufian hi, and hi woldon him beon hold and gehyrsume, ac se abbot nolde thæs naht, ac *dyde* heom yfele, and *beheot* him wyr. Anes dæges se abbot eode into capitulan, and spræc uppon tha munecas and wolde hi mistukian,\* and sende æfter læwede mannum ; and hi comon into Capitulan on uppon tha munecas full-gewernede : And tha wæron tha munecas swithe aferede of heom : Nyston hwæt heom to donne wære, ac to *scuton* sume urnon into cyrcan, and belucan tha duran into heom ; and hi ferdon æfter heom into tham mynstre, and woldon hig ut-dragan, tha tha hig ne dorsten na ut-gan : Ac reowlic thing thær gelamp on dæg thæt tha frencisce men bræcen thone Chor, and torfedon toward tham weofode thær tha munecas wæron, and sume of tham cnihtan ferdon uppon thone up-flore and scotedon a dunweard mid arewan toward tham halig-

\* Voluit monachos, relicto cantu gregoriano, cujusdam Gulielmi Fescamnensis cantum discerent et cantarent. — *Flor.*

dome swa thæt on thære rode the stod bufon tham weofode sticodon-on mænige arewan: And tha wreccan munecas lægon on-buton tham weofode; and sume crupon under and gyrne cleopedon to Gode, *his* miltse biddende, tha tha hi ne mihton nane miltse *æt mannum* begytan. Hwæt magon we secgean buton thæt hi scotedon swithe; and tha thre tha dura bræcon thær adune and eodon inn, and of-slogon *sume* tha munecas to deathe and mænige gewundedon thær-inne, swa thæt thet blod com of tham weofode uppon tham gradan, and of tham gradan on tha flore: Threo thær wæron of-slægene to deathe and eahteteone gewundade.

MLXXXIV. Her on thisum geare forthferde Wulfuold abbot on eortesege on tham dæge xiii kl. mai.



# NICHOLAS' ANNALS.

R



## INTRODUCTION

TO

## NICHOLAS' ANNALS.

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NICHOLAS' Annals seem to begin in the year 1087: not *earlier*, because there are traces of *Wulstan's* hand in 1086 which are not to be mistaken; and not *later*, because *Odo*, whom *Wulstan* commends in 1086, is, in 1087, represented as a traitor. Other reasons might be adduced.

We have seen that *Remaldus* compiled his book (whence the following piece is taken) in or soon after 1122. The style and spelling are here uniform throughout, and it is probably unaltered and entire as far as it goes.

Nicholas died, as has been said, 24th June, 1124; and it is also to be remembered, that he



was a monk of this church of Worcester, and finally came to be prior.

The most prominent evidence of the author will be found perhaps in the years 1087, and 1089, but the whole was plainly written by Nicholas: there is no sentence therein, from beginning to end, which can render it doubtful.

It might be easily shown that *Malmesbury* was acquainted with this little work as well as *Florence*.

## NICHOLAS' ANNALS.

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MLXXXVII. ON thisum geare was this land swithe astirad, and mid mycele swicdome afylfed; swa thæt tha riceste frencisce men the wæron innan thisan lande woldon swican heora hlaforde, tham *cyng*e, and woldon habban his brother to cyng *Rodbeard* the wæs eorl on *Normandige*. On thisum ræde wæs ærest *Oda* biscop and *Gosfrith* biscop and *Willelm* biscop on Dunholme; swa wæl dyde se cyng be *tham biscope* thæt eall *Engla-land* færd æfter his ræde, and swa swa he wolde; and he thohte to donne be *him* eall swa *Judas Scarioth* dide be *ure drihtene*. And *Rogere* eorl wæs eac æt tham unræde, and swithe micel folc mid heom, ealle frencisce men: and thæs unræd wærth ge-ræd innan tham *Lengtene*. Sona swa hit com to tham *Eastron* tha ferdon hi and hergodon and bærndon and awæston thæs cynges feorme-hames, and eallra thæra manna land hi fordydon the wæron innan thæs cynges hold-scipe. And *heora ælc* ferde to his castele, and thone mannoden and metsoden swa hig betst mihton: *Gosfrith* biscop and *Rodbeard* amund-bræg ferdon to *Bricgstowe* and hergodon; and brohton to tham castele tha hergunge, and

siththan foron ut of tham castele, and hergodon *Bathon*, and eall thæt land thær-abutan; and eall *Beorclea-hyrnesse* hi awæston. And tha men the yldest wæron of *Here-forde* and eall theo scir forthmid and tha men of *Scrob-scire* mid mycele folce of *Brytlande* comon and hergodon and bærndon on Wigreceastre-scire forth thæt hi comon to tham porte sylfan, and woldon tha thæne port bærnan and thæt mynstre reafian and thæs cynges castel gewinnan heom to handa: Tha thing ge-seonde se arwurtha biscop *Wulfstan*, wearth swythe gedrefed on his mode for-thig him wæs betæhte the castel to healdenne. *Theah-hwæther* his hired men ferdon ut mid feawe mannan of tham castele, and thurh Godes mild-heortnesse, and thurh thæs biscopes ge-earnunga, of-slogon and ge-læhton fif hundred manna and tha othre ealle aflymdon.\* Se biscop of *Dunholme* dyde to hearne thæt he mihte ofer eall be-northan: *Roger* het, an of heom, se hleop into tham castele æt *Northwic*, and dyde git eallra wærst ofer eall thæt lande: *Hugo*, eac, an the hit ne gebette nan thing, ne innan *Lægre-ceastre-scire* ne inna *North-ham-*

\* Sub Willielmo juniore Rogerius, comes de Montegomerio perfidiam contra principem meditatur cum ejusdem factionis complicitibus arma movebat infestus. Jamque a Scrobberia usque Wigornensem Coloniam omnibus vastatis, Urbem ipsam appropinquabant cum regii milites qui prætendebant periculum exponunt Episcopo. Is maledictionis fulmen jaculat in perfidos qui Domino suo fidem non servarent; jubet milites dei et ecclesiæ injurias ulturos (&c.) Mirum quis dixerit, sed auctoritati veracium narratorum cedendum (&c.)

Nicholaus specialis ejus alumnus qui postea Wigorniensis Ecclesiæ prior fuit &c.—*Malm. de Wulst.* lib. 4, de pont.

*tune.* The biscop *Odo* the thas cyng of awocan ferde into *Cent* to his eorldome, and for-dyde hit swythe, and thas cynges land and thas *archbishops* mid-ealle aweston, and brohte eall that god into his castele of *Hrofe-ceastre*. Tha the cyng undergeat ealle thas thing and hwilcne swicdom hi dydon toward his, tha wearth he on his mode swithe ge-drefed. Sende tha æfter *Englisc* mannan and heom for-sæde his neode, and gyrde heora fultumes, and behet heom tha betsta laga the æfre ær was on thisan lande: and ælc un-riht geold he for-bead, and geatte mannan heora wudas and slætinge; ac hit ne stod nane hwile. Ac *Englisc* men swa theah fengon to tham cyng heora hlaforde on fultume: ferdon tha to-weard *Hrofe-ceastre*, and woldon thone biscop *Odo* begytan; (thohton gif hi hæfdon hine the was ærur heafod to tham un-ræde that hi mihton the bet begytan ealla tha othre:) Hi comon tha to tham castele to *Tonebrice*; tha wæron innan tham castele *Odo* biscopes *cnihtas* and othre manige the hine healdon woldon on-gear thone cyng. Ac tha *englisc* men ferdon and to-bræcon thone castel; and tha menn the thær-inne wæron grithodon with thone cyng. Se cyng mid his here ferde toward *Hrofe-ceastre*; and wendon that se biscop wære thær-inne, ac hit wearth tham cyng cuth that se biscop was afaren to tham castele *Apefenesea*: and se cyng mid his here ferde æfter and besæt thone castel abutan mid swithe mycele here, fulle six wucan. Betwyx thissum se eorl of *Normandige*, *Rodbeard*, thes cynges brother, gaderode swythe mycel folc, and thohte to gewinnane *Engle-lunde* mid thæra manna fultume the wæron innan thisan lande on-gear thone cyng. And he sende of his mannan to thissum lande, and wolde cuman him-sylf æfter, ac tha *englisc* men tha wærdedon there se ge-læhton of tham mann and slogon and adrengton ma

thonne ænig man wiste to tellanne. Syththan heom ateorede mete withinnan tham castele, *tha* gyrndon hi grithas, and agefan hine tham cyng: and se biscop swor thæt he wolde ut of *Engle-lande* foran, and na mare cuman on thisan lande butan se cyng him æfter sende, and thæt he wolde agyfan thone castel on *Hrofe-ceastre*: Eal-swa se biscop ferde and sceolde agifan thone castel and se cyng sende his men mid him. *Tha* arisan *tha* menn the wæron innan tham castele, and namon thone biscop and thes cynges men and dydon hi on hæfnunge. Innan tham castele wæron swithe gode cnihtas *Eustatius* the iunga and *Rogeres eorlas threo sunan* and ealle *tha* betst-boren men the wæron innan *thisan lande* oththe on *Normandige*. *Tha* se cyng undergeat *thas* thing *tha* ferde he æfter mid tham here the he thær hæfde and sende ofer eall *Engla-lande* and bæd thæt ælc man the wære un-nithing sceolde cuman to him—*frencisce* and *englisce*—of *porte* and of *upp-lande*. Him com *tha* mycel folc to; and he for *Hrofe-ceastre* and besætt thone castel oth thæt hi grithedon the thær-inne wæron and thone castel ageafon. Se biscop *Odo* mid tham mannum the innan tham castell wæron ofer sæ ferdon, and se biscop swa for-let thone wurthscip the he on this landa hæfde. Se cyng syththan sende here to *Dunholme* and let besittan thone castel, and se biscop grithode, and ageaf thone castel, and forlet his biscoprice and ferde to *Normandige*. Eac manige frencisce men for-leton heora land and ferdon ofer sæ; and se cyng geaf heora land tham mannum the him holde wæron.

MLXXXIX. On thisum geare se arwyrrtha muneca feder and frouer *Lanfranc* arce-biscop gewat of thissum life. Ac we hopiath thæt he ferde to thæt heofanlice-*rice*. Swilce eac gewarh ofer eall *Engle-land* mycel eorh-

styrunge on thone dæg III. idus Aug. and wæs swithe lætsum gear on corne and on ælces cynnes wæstmum swa thæt manig men ræpon heora corn on-buton Martines mæssan and git lator.

MXC. Indictione XIII. Thissum thus gedon eall swa we ær abufan sædon, be tham cyng and be his brother and be his mannon se cyng wæs smægende hu he mihte wrecon his brother *Rodbeard* swithost swencean and *Normandige* of him gewinnan; theah, thurh his geapscipe oththe thurh gærsuma he begeat thone castel æt sce *Waleri*, and tha hæfenan: and swa he begeat thone æt *Albemare*: and thar-inne he sette his cnihtas and hi dydon hearms uppon tham lande on hergunge and on bærnete. Æfter thisum he begeat ma castelas innan tham lande and thær-inne his rideras gelogode. Se eorl of *Normandige* *Rodbeard* siththan he undergeat thæt his gesworene men him trucedon and agefon heora castelas him to hearne, tha sende he to his hlaforde *Philippe*, francena cyng; and he com to *Normandige* mid mycelan here, and se cyng and se eorl mid or-mætre fyrd besæton thone castel abuton thær thæs cynges men of Engle-land inne wæron. Se cyng *Willelm* of Engle-lande sende to *Philippe* Francene cyng, and he, for his lufan oththe for his mycele gersuma for-let swa his man thone eorl *Rodbeard* and his land, and ferde ongean to *France*, and let heom swa weorthan. And betwyx thisum thingum this lande wæs swithe fordon on un-laga gelde, and on othre manige un-gelimpe.

MLXCI. On thisum geare se cyng *Willelm* heold his hired to *Cristes-mæssan* on *Wæstminstre*; and thær-æfter to *Candel-mæssan* he ferde for his brothær un-thearfe ut of Engle-lande into *Normandige*. On-mang tham the he thær wæs heora sehte to-gædere eode on thæt gerad, thæt se eorl him to handan let *Uescam* and thone eorl dome

æt *Ou*, and *Kierres-burh*; and thær-to-eacan thes' cynges men sac-leas beon moston on tham castelan the hi ær, thes eorles unthances, begiten hæfdon: And se cyng him ongean tha manege behet the ær heora fæder gewan and tha fram tham eorle gebogen wæs, gebygle to donne; and eall thæt his fæder thær begeondan hæfde butan tham the he tha cyng the geunnen hæfde; and thæt ealle tha the on Engle-lande for tham eorle æror heora land forlufon hit on thisum sehte habban sceoldan; and se eorl on Engle-lande eall swa mycel swa on heora forewarde wæs; and gif se eorl forthferde butan sunu be rihtre æwe, wære se cyng yrfe-numa of eallon *Normandig*; be thisre sylfan forewarde gyf se cyng swulte wære se eorl yrfe-numa ealles *Engle-landes*. Thas forewarde gesworan XII tha betste of thes cynges healfe and XII of thes eorles, theah hit siththan litle hwile stode. On mang thisum sæhte wearth *Eadgar Ætheling* belandod of tham the se eorl him æror thær to handa gelæten hæfde, and ut of *Normandig* for to tham cyng the athume to *Scotlande* and to his swustor. On-mang tham the se cyng *Willelm* ut of *Engle-lande* wæs ferde se cyng *Melcolm* of *Scotlande* hider into *Englum*, and his mycelne dæl ofer-bergode oth thæt tha gode-mæn the this lande bewiston him fyrde ongean sændon and hine gecyrdon: Tha tha se cyng *Willelm* into *Normandige* this gehyrde tha gearcode he his fare and to *Engle-lande* com and his brother se eorl *Rodbeard* mid him, and sona fyrde het ut abeodan ægther scip-fyrde and land-fyrde: ac seo scip-fyrde ær he to *Scotlande* coman mihte ælmæst earmlic forfor feowan dagon to-foron sce *Michæles* mæssan: and se cyng and his brother mid thære land-fyrde ferdon. Ac tha tha se cyng *Melcolm* gehyrde thæt hine man mid fyrde secean wolde he for, mid his fyrde, ut of *Scotlande* into *Lothene* on *Engla-land*; and, thær abad: Tha tha se

cyng *Willelm* mid his fyrde genealehte, tha ferdon be-  
twux *Rodbeard* eorl and *Eadgar* Ætheling, and thæra  
cynga sehte swa gemacedon thæt se cyng *Melcolm* to  
uran cynge com and his man wearth to eall swylcre ge-  
hyrsumnisse swa he ær his fæder dyde and thæt mid  
*athe* gefestnode : and se cyng *Willelm* him be-het on  
lande and on eallon thinge thæs the he under his fæder  
ær hæfde. On thisum sehte wearth eac *Eadgar* Ætheling  
with thone cyng gesæhtlad. And tha cyngas tha mid  
micclum sehte to-hwurfon : ac *thæt* litle hwile stod. And  
se eorl *Rodbeard* her oth *Cristes-mæsse* for-neah mid tham  
cynge wunode ; and litel sothes thær on-mang of hæora  
forewarde on fand, and twam dagon ær *there tide* on *Wiht*  
scipode and into *Normandige* for and *Eadgar* ætheling  
mid him.

MXCII. On thisum geare se cyng *Willelm* mid mycelre  
fyrde ferde north to *Carleol* and tha burh ge-æthstathe-  
lede and thone castel arerde, and *Dolfin* ut adraf the  
æror thær thes landes weold, and thone castel mid his  
mannan gesette. And siththan hider suth gewænde ; and  
mycele mænige Englisces folces mid wifan and mid orfe  
thyder sende, thær to wunigenne, thæt land to tillianne.

MXCIII. On thisum geare to tham *Længtene* warth se  
cyng *Willelm* on *Gleawceastre* to tham swithe geseclod  
thæt he wæs, ofer eall, *dead* gecyð : And on his broke he  
gode fela behæsa hehet ; his agen lif on riht to lædene,  
and Godes cyrcean grithian and frithian, and næfre ma  
eft with feo gesyllan, and ealle rihte lage on his theode  
to habbene : and thæt arcebiscep-ricc on *Cantwarbyrig* the  
ær on his agenre hand stod *Anselme* betæhte ; *se* wæs ær  
abbot on *Bæc* : and *Rodbeard*, his Cancelere, thæt biscop-  
ricc on *Lincolne* ; and to manegan mynstren land ge-  
uthe : Ac *thæt* he siththan æt-bræd tha him gebotad wæs,  
and ealle tha gode laga for-læt the he us ær behet. Tha



æfter thisson sende se cyng of *Scotlande* and thære forewarde gyrnde the him behaten wæs; and se cyng *Willelm* him steofnode to Gloweceastre, and him to *Scotlande* gislas sende, and *Eadgar* ætheling æfter; and tha men siththan ongean [comon] the hine mid myccelon wurthscipe to tham cynge brohtan. Ac tha tha he to tham cynge com, ne mihte he beon weorthe nathre ne ure cynges spæce ne thæra forewarde the him ær behatene wæron; and for-thi hi tha mid mycelon un-sehte to-hwurfon; and se cyng *Melcolm* ham to *Scotlande* gewænde. Ac hrathe thæs the he ham com he his fyrde gegaderode and into Engle-lande hergende mid maran unræde ferde thone him abehofode; and hine tha *Rodbearð* se eorl of *North-hymbran* mid his mannun un-wæres hesyred and of-sloh. Hine sloh *Moræl* of *Bæbbaburh*,—se wæs thæs eorles *stiward* and *Melcolmes* cynges god-sib. Mid him wæs eac *Edward* his sune of-slagen, se æfter him cyng beon sceolde (gif he hit gelifode.)—Tha tha seo god cwen *Margarita* this ge-hyrde hire tha leofstan hlaford and sunu thus beswikene, heo wearth oth death on mode geaucsumed, and mid hire prestan to cyrcean eode, and hire ge-rihtan underfeng, and æt *Gode* abæd thæt heo hire gast ageaf. And tha *Scottas* tha *Dufenal* to cynge gecuron, *Melcolmes* brother, and ealle tha Englisce ut-adræfdon the ær mid tham cynge *Melcolme* wæron. Tha tha *Dunecan* *Melcolmes* cynges sunu this ealle gehyrde thus gefaren; (*Se* on thæs cynges hirede *Willelmes* wæs swa swa his fæder hine ures cynges fæder ær to gisle ge-seald hæfde; and her swa siththan belaf;)—he to tham cynge com and swilce getrywtha dyde swa se cyng æt him habban wolde and swa mid his unne to *Scotlande* for mid tham fultume the he begytan mihte *Engliscra* and *Fren-ciscra*, and his mæge *Dufenal* thes rices benam, and to cynge wearth under-fangen. Ac tha *Scottas* hi eft sume

gegaderoden and for-neah ealle his mænu of-slogan, and he-sylf mid feawum æt-bærst : Siththan hi wurdon sehte on tha gerad thæt he næfre eft Englisce ne Frencisce into tham lande ne gelogode.

MXCIV. Her hæfde se cyng *Willelm* to *Cristes-mæssan* his hirede æt *Gleawe-ceastre*; and him thider fram his brother *Rodbeurd* of *Normandig* bodan coman tha cyddon thæt his brother grith and forewarde eall æfter-cwæth butan se cyng gelæstan wolde eall thet hi on forewarde hæfdon ær gewrohte, and uppon thæt hine for-sworenne and tryw-leasne clypode buton he thæ forewarde ge-heolde, oththe thider ferde, and hine thær betealde thær seo forewarde ær wæs ge-wroht, and eac gesworen :—Tha ferde se cyng to *Hæstingan* to tham *Candel-mæssan*; and on-mang tham the he thær wederes abad he let halgian thæt mynstre æt thære *bataille*; and *Herbearde Losange* tham bisceop of Theot-fordan his stæf benam, and thær-æfter to *mid-Lengtene* ofer sæ for into *Normandige*: syththan he thider com he and his brother *Rodbeard* se eorl gecwæthan thæt he mid grithe togædere cuman scealdan (and swa dydon) and gesemede beonne mihton: syththan eft hi togædere coman mid tham ilcan mannan the ær that loc makedon and eac tha athas sworn: and *ealne thone bryce* uppon thone cyng tealdon, ac he nolde thæs gethafa beon, ne eac tha forewarde heal-dan: and fortham hi, tha, mid mycelou unsehte to-cyrdon. And se cyng syththan thone castel æt *Bures* gewann, and thes eorles men thær-inne genam: Tha sume hider to lande sende. Thær-to-geanes *se eorl* mid thes *cynges* fultume of *France* gewann thone castel at *Argentse* [Argence] and thear-inne *Rogger Peiteuin* genam, and seofen hundred thes *cynges* cnihta mid him; and syththan, thone æt *Hulme*: and oft-rædlice heora ægther uppon otherne tunas bærnde and eac menne læhte. Tha sende se cyng hider to lande and het abeodan ut xx thu-

senda Engliscra manna him to fultume to *Normandig*; ac, tha, to sæ comon, tha het hi man cyrran and feoh syllan to thæs cynges behofe the hi genumen hæfdon; (thet wæs ælc man healf punda;) and hi swa dydon. And se eorl innon *Normandig* æfter thison mid tham cyng of *France* and mid eallon tham the hi gegaderian mihton ferdon towardses Ou,—thær se cyng *Willelm* inne wæs, and thohtan hine inne to besittanne, and swa foran oth hi coman to *Lungeuile*: thær wearthse cyng of *France* thurh gesmeah ge-cyrrad and swa syththan eal seo fyrding to-hwearf. Her, on-mang thison, se cyng *Willelm* sende æfter his brother *Heanrige*, se wæs on tham castele æt Damfront, ac for-thi the he mid frithe thurh *Normandig* faran ne mihte he him sende scipon æfter and *Hugo* eorl of *Ceastre*. Ac tha tha hi towardses Ou faran sceoldon (thær se cyng wæs,) hi foran to *Engle-lande* and uppe coman æt *Hamtune* on *ealra-halgena mæsse-æfne*; and her syththan wunedon and to *Cristes-mæssan* wæron on *Lunden*. Eac an thisum ilcan geare tha *Wylisce-menn* hi gegaderodon and with tha *Frencisce* the on *Walon*, oththe on thære neawiste wæron, (and hi ær belandedon), gewinn upp-ahofon; and manige festena and castelas abræcon and menn of-slogon: and syththan heora gefylce weox hi hi on ma to-dældon: with sum thæra dæle ge-feaht *Hugo* eorl of *Scrob-scire* and hi aflymde. Ac theah-hwether tha othre, ealles thæs geares, nanes yfeles ne geswicon the hi don mihton. Thises geares eac tha *Scottas* heora cyng *Dunecan* besyredon and of-slogon; and heom syththan eft othre-sythe his fæderan *Dufenal* to cyngge genamon, (thurh *thes* lare and to-tihtinge he wearth to deathe beswicen.)

MCXV. On thissum geare wæs ce cyng *Willelm* to *Cristes-mæssan* tha feower fore-warde dagas on *Hwitsand*; and æfter tham feorthan dæge hider to lande for and upp

com æt *Doferan*; and *Heanrig*, thæs cynges brother, her on lande oth *Lengtene* wunode, and thu ofer sæ for to *Normandig*, (mid mycelon gersuman), on thæs cynges heldan, uppon heora brother *Rodbeard* eorl; and ge'omlice uppon thone eorl wann and him mycelne hearm ægther on lande and on mannan dyde. And tha to *Eastran* heold se cyng his hired on *Winceastre*; and se eorl *Rodbeard* of *North Hymbran* nolde to hirede cuman, and se cyng forthan wearth with hine swithe astyrod, and him-to sende and heardlice bead gif he grithes weorthe beon wolde thæt he, to *Pentecosten*, to hired come; (on thisum gearwæron Eastron on viii kl. Apr.) And tha uppon Eastron on sce Ambrosius mæsse-niht (thæt is ii non. Apr.) was ge-sewen for-neah ofer eall this land swilce for-neah ealle tha niht swithe mænig-fealdlice steorran of heofenan feol-lan, naht be anan oththe twam, ac swa thiclice thæt hit nan mann ateallan ne mihte. Her æfter to *Pentecosten* was se cyng on *Windlesoran*, and eall his witan mid him butan tham eorle of *North Hymbran* forþam se cyng him nather nolde ne gislas syllan, ne uppon trywthan geunnon thæt he mid grithe cuman moste, and *faran*; and se cyng for-thy his fyrde bead, and uppon thone Eorl to *North-hymbran* for: and sona thes the he thider com, he manege and for-neah ealle tha betste of thæs eorles hirede innan anan fæstene ge-wann, and on hæftene ge-dyde; and thone castel æt *Tine-muthan* be-sæt oth thæt he hine ge-wann; and thæs eorles brother thær-inne, and ealle tha the him mid wæron: and syththan ferde to *Bebbaburh*, and thone eorl thær-inne besæt. Ac tha tha se cyng ge-seah thæt he hine gewinnan ne mihte, tha het he makian *onne* castel *ta-foran* *Bebbaburh*, and hine, on his spæce, *Malveisin* het; (thæt his on englisc, *yfel neht hebur*;) and hine swithe mid his mannan gesætte, and syththan suthweard for. Tha sona æfter tham the se

cyng wæs suth afaren, ferde se *Eorl* anre nihte ut of *Bebbaburh* towards *Tinemuthan*. Ac tha the innau tham niwan castele wæron his ge-wæar wurdon, and him æfter foran, and on fuhton, and hine gewundedon and syththan ge-læhton, and tha the mid him wæron, sume of-slogon, sume lifes ge-fengon. On-mang thison wearth tham cyngc tha cuth thæt tha *Wylisce*-men on *Wealon* sumne castel hæfdon to-broken, *Muntgumri* hatte, and *Hugon* eorles menn of-slagene the hine heoldan sceoldon : and he for-thi othre fyrde het fearlice abannan, and æfter *sce Michael*es mæsse into *Wealon* ferde ; and his fyrde to-scyfte and that land eall thurh for, swa thæt seo fyrde eall togædere com to *eallra halgena* to *Snowdune*. Ac tha *Wylisce* á to-foran into muntan and moran ferdon thæt hcom man to cuman ne mihte : and se cyng tha ham-weard gewende, fortham he ge-seah thæt he thær thes wintres mare don ne mihte. Tha tha se cyng ongean com tha het he niman thone eorl *Rotbeard* of *North-hymbran* and to *Bebbaburh* lædan and ægther eage ut-adon butan tha the thær-inne wæron thone castel agyfan woldon : Hine heoldan *his wif* and *Moreal* se wæs his stiward and eac his mæg. Thurh this wearth se eastel tha agyfen ; and *Moreal* wearth tha on thæs cynges hirede, and thurh hine wurdon manege ægther ge gehadode and eac læwede geypte the mid heora ræde on thes cynges un-heldan wæron. Tha se cyng, sume ær thære tyde, het on hæfnethe gebringan ; and siththan, swithe gemahlice ofer eall this land beodan thæt ealle tha the of tham cyngc land heoldan, eall swa hi frithes weorthe beon woldan, thæt he on hirede to tide wæron : and thone eorl *Rotbert* het se cyng to *Windlesoran* lædan and thær innan tham castele healdan. Eac on this ylcan gearc togeanes *Eastron* com thæs Papan *Sande* hider to lande—(thæt wæs *Walteur* bisceop—swithe god lifes

man—of *Albin* thære *ceastre*)—and tham arce-biscope *Ansealme* uppon *Pentecosten* of thæs Papan healfe *Urbanus* his pallium geaf; and he hine under-feng æt his arce-stole on *Cant-wara-byrig*.. And se biscop *Waltear* her on lande thæs gearas syththan lange wunode; and man syththan *that Rom-ge-sceot* be him sende swa man mane-gan gearan æror ne dyde. Thises ilcan eac gearas wæron swithe un-tid gewidera, and for-thi geond eall this lānd wurdon eorh-wæstmas eall to medemlice ge-wende.

MCXVI. On thison geare heold se cyng *Wyllelm* his hired to *Cristes massan* on *Windlesoran*; and *Willelm* bis-cop of *Dunholme* thær forth-ferde to gearas dæge: and on *Octab. Epiphan.* wæs se cyng and ealle his witan on *Sear-byrig*: thær beteah *Gosfrei Bainard Willelm* of *Ou*, thæs cynges mæg, thæt he hæfde gebeon on thes cynges swic-dome, and hit him an-gefeah, and hine on orreste ofer-com; and, siththan he ofer-comen wæs, him het se cyng tha eagan ut-adon, and, sith-than, belisnian; and his stiward *Willelm* hatte, (se wæs his modrian sunu) het se cyng on rode *ahon*. Tha wearth eac *Eoda* Eorl of *Campaine* thæs cynges athum and manege othre belende; and sumne man to *Lundene* lædde and thær spilde. Thises gearas eac to tham *Eastran* wearth swythe mycel styrung geond eall *thas* theode and fela *othra* theodan thurh *Urbanus*, se wæs *papa* gehatten, theah the he thæs setles na-thing næfde on Rome.—And ferde unarimedlice folc mid wifan and cildan to thi thæt hi uppon *hæthene theodon* winnan woldon. Thurh *thas* fare wearth se cyng and his brother *Rodbeard* eorl sehte; swa thæt se cyng ofer sæ for, and eall *Normandig* æt him mid feo alisde, swa swa hi tha sehte wæron: and se eorl syththan ferde and mid him se eorl of *Flandran* and se of *Bunan* [*Boulogne*,] and eac manege othre heafod men. And se eorl *Rodbeard* and tha the mid him ferdou thone winter on

Puille [Apulia] wunedon. Ac thes folces the be *Hungrie* for, fela thusenda *thar* and *be wæge* earmlice forforan ; and fela hreowlice and hungere-bitene ongear wintur ham tugon. Thæs wæs swithe hefig time gear geond eall angel-cynn, ægther-ge thurh mænig-fealde gylda and eac thurh swithe hefig timne hunger the thisne eard thæs gearas swithe gedrehte. Eac on thison geara tha heafodmen the thes land heoldan oftrædlice fyrde into *Wealon* sendon, and mænig man mid-tham swithe gedrehtan : ac man thær ne ge-spædde butan man-myrringe and feoh-spyllinge.

MXCVII. Her on thison geara weas se cyng *Wyllelm* to *Cristes-mæssan* on *Normandig* : and tha. to gearas *Easturon*, hider to lande for, fortham he thohte his hired on *Win-ceastre* to healdenne, ac he wearth thurh weder get oth that *Eastre æfen*, thæt he upp com ærost æt *Arundel* ; and for-thi his hired æt *Windesoran* heold : and thær-æfter mid mycclum here into *Wealon* ferde and thæt land swithe mid his fyrde thurh-for, thurh sume tha *Wyliscean* the him-to wæron cumen and his læd-teowas wæron ; and thær-inne wunode fram *mid-sumeran* for-neah oth *August*,—and mycel thær-inne for-leas on mannan and on horsan and eac on manegan othran thingan. Tha *Wylisce men*, syththon hi fram tham cyngge ge-bugon, heom manege ealdras of heom-sylfan gecuron. Sum thæra wæs *Caduugaun* gehaten, the heora weorthast wæs ; se wæs *Griffines* brother sunu cynges. And tha tha se cyng ge-seah thæt he nan-thing his willes thær ge-forthian ne mihte he ongear into thison lande for. And hrathe æfter tham he be tham gemæron castelas let gemakian. Tha, uppon Sce Michaelæs mæssan (IV. non. Octob.) æt-ywthe an selcuth steorra on æfen scynende and sona to setle gangende : He wæs ge-sewen—suthweast, and se leoma the him of-stod wæs swythe *lang*

ge-thuht—suth-east scinende: and for-neah calle tha wucan on thas wysan ætywde:—manege men leton thæt hit cometa wære. Sona æfter thison se arcebiſcop *Anſcalm* of *Cant-war-byrig* leafe æt tham cynges nam, (theah hit tham cynges un-ge-will wære thæs the men leton) and ofer sæ for, fortham him thuhte thæt man on thisne theodan lytel æfter rihte and æfter his dyhte dyde: and se cyng thær-æfter, uppon *ſce Martines* mæssan, ofer sæ into Normandig for. Ac tha, hwile the he wederes abad, his hired innon tham sciran thær hi lagon thone mæstan hearm dydon the æfre *hired*, oththe *here*, innon frithlande don ſceolde. This was on eallon thingan swithe hefig-tyme gear, and ofer ge-swincfull on un-ge-wederan tha man oththe *tithan* ſceolde oththe eft titha *gegaderian*, and on un-gyldan tha næfre ne ablunnon; eac manege sciran the mid weorce to Lundenne belumpon wurdon thærle ge-drehte thurh thone *weall* the hi worhtou *on-butan thone tur*, and thurh tha *brycge* the for-neah eal to-flotan wæs, and thurh thæs cynges *healle* ge-weorce the man on West-mynstre worhte and mænige men thær-mid ge-drehte. Eac on thissum ylcan geara sona uppon *ſce Michaelis* mæssan ferde *Eadgar Ætheling* mid fyrde thurh thæs cynges fultume into *Scotlande*, and thet land mid stranglicum feohte ge-wann, and thone cyng *Dufenal* ut-adræfde; and his mæg, *Eadgar*, se was *Malcolmes* sunu cynges and *Margarite* thære cwenan he thær on thæs cynges *Willelmes* haldan to cynges ge-sette, and siththan ongear into Engle-land for.

MCXVIII. On thissum geara to Cristes mæssan was se cyng *Willelm* on *Normandig*; and *Walcelin* biſcop on *Win-ceastre* and *Baldewine* abbot on *ſce Edmund* innan thære tyde begen forth-ferdon. Thises gearas eac, to tham *sumeran*, innan *Barruc-scire* æt *Finchamstæde* an mere *blod* weoll (swa swa manige trywe men sædon the hit ge-



seon sceoldon :) And *Hugo* eorl wearth of-slægen innan *Angles-egge* fram ut-wikingan; and his brother *Rodbert* wearth his yrfe-numa, swa swa he hit æt tham cyng of-eode. To foran *scē Michaelis* mæssan æt-ywde seo heofon swylce heo for-neah ealle tha niht byrnende wære. This wæs swithe ge-swincfull geara thurh mænig-feald un-gyld; and thurh mycele renas the ealles gearas ne ablunnon for-neah ælc tilth on mersc-lande for-ferde.

MXCIX. Her wæs se cyng *Willelm* to *mide-wintre* on *Normandig*; and to *Eastron* hider to lande com; and, to Pentecosten, *forman siðe*, his hired innan his niwan ge-byttlan æt West-mynstre heold. And thær *Rannulfe* his Capellane thæt biscop-rice æt Dunholme geaf, the æror ealle his gemot ofer eall *Engle-land draf and bewiste*: \*

\* “From the words *draf his gemot* He appears to have been a sort of *justice itinerant*, or judge of assize, who went through all England to redress grievances, &c. In the Latin Chronicle of Peterborough, published by *Sparke*, p. 57, there is a curious notice of this Ranulf at the conclusion of the year 1099. *Ranulfus, Regis Placitator, fit Episcopus Dunelmensis: iste conscripsit quendam librum, quem titulavit de Legibus Angliæ.*

He may therefore be safely called the father of English law-writers. \* \* \* It was probably the foundation of the later works of *Bracton*, *Fleta*, *Fortescue*, and others.”—  
ING R M.

It is the abbot *John de Caur's* Chronicle, of which Mr. Ingram speaks, a very good authority, for (according to Whitlesey,) Ranulf's book must have been the abbot's manual.

“Cognatus erat *Abbas Joannes* reginæ angliz; unde *Thesaurarius* regis Henrici IV., et *Justiciarius itineris* erat \* \* \* frequenter enim absens erat extra abbatiam in

and sona thær-æfter ofer sæ for, and thone eorl *Elias* of thære Man-ige [Maine] adraf, and hi siththan on his geweald ge-sætte; and swa to *sce Michael*es mæssan eft hider to lande com. Thises geares eac on *sce Martines* mæsse-dæg asprang up to *tothan* swithe sæ-flod and swa mycel to hearne gedyde swa nan man ne gemunet that hit æfre æror dyde: and wæs thæs ylcan dæges *luna prima*. And *Osmond* bisceop of *Sear-byrig* innon *Aduent* forth-ferde.

mc. On thison geare se cyng *Willelm* heold his hired to *Cristes-massa* on *Gleawe-ceastre*; and to *Eastron* on *Win-ceastre*; and to *Pentecosten* on *West-Mynstre*. And to tham *Pentecosten* wæs gesewen innan *Barruc-scire* æt anan tune blod weallon of eorþan swa swa mænige sædan the hit geseon sceoldan. And thær-æfter on morgen æfter *hlam-mæsse-dæge* wearth se cyng *Willelm*, on hunt-nothe, fram his anon men mid anre flea of-sceoten, and siththan to *Win-ceastre* gebroht, and on tham biscop-ric bebyrged: thæt wæs thæs threottethan geares the he rice on-feng. He was swithe strang and rethe ofer his land and his mænn and with eall his neahheburas, and swithe on drædendlic: and thurch yfelra manna rædas the him æfre gecwene wæron, and thurh his agene git-sunga he æfre thas leode mid *here* and mid *un-gylde* tyr-wigende wæs, forþan the on his dagan ælc riht afeoll and ælc un-riht for Gode and for worulde up-aras: Godes cyr-cean he nytherade, and tha biscop-rices and abbot-rices the

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curià regis et alibi, quia erat *Thesaurarius* et *Justiciarius* Domini Regis \* \* \* Tandem Londini in suis domibus obiit *Thesaurarius* regis quinto nonar. Martii aº. domi. 1262: deductus etiam apud Burgum et ibi sepultus," &c.

tha ealdras on his dagan feollan ealle he hi oththe with feo gesealde, oththe on his agenre hand heold and to-gafle ge-sette; forthan the he ælces mannes ge-hadodes and læwedes yrfe-numa beon wolde: and swa, thaet thaes dæges the he gefeoll he hæfde on his agenre hand thaet *arce-biscop-rice* on *Cant-ware-byrig* and thaet biscop-rice on *Win-ceastre* and thaet on *Sear-byrig* and *si abbot-rices* ealle to gafle ge-sette: And theah the ic hit læng ylde,—eall thet the Gode wæs lath and rightfull mannan,—eall thet wæs gewunelic on thissan lande on his tyman,—and for-thi he wæs for-neah *ealre his leode* lath, and Gode andsæte, swa swa his ænde ætywde, forthan the he on midde-wardan his un-rihte buten behreowsunge and ælcere dæd-dote ge-wat: on thæne Thunresdæg he wæs of-slogen and thaes on morgen bebyrged: and siththan he bebyrged wæs tha witan the tha neh handa wæron his brother *Heanrig* to cinge gecuron: And he thaer-rihte thaet biscop-rice on *Winceastre Willelme Giffarde* geaf, and siththan to *Lundene* for. And on than sunnan dæge thaer-æfter *to-foran tham weafode* on *Westmynstre* Gode and eallan folce behet eallan tha un-rihte to aleggenne the on his broðer timan wæron, and tha betstan lagan to heal-dene the on æniges cynges dæge to-foran him stodan: and hine siththan æfter than se biscop of *Lundene Mauricius* to cynge gehalgode; and him ealle on theosan lande to abugan and athas sworon and his men wurdon. And se cyng sona æfter tham he there ræde the him abutan wæron thone biscop *Rannulf* of *Dunholme* let niman and into thære ture of *Lundene* let ge-bringan, and thaer healdan. Tha to-foran *se Michael*es mæssan com se arce-biscop *Ansealm* of *Cant-war-byrig* hider to lande swa swa ce cyng *Heanrig*, be his witenas ræde, him-æfter sende, forthan the he wæs ut of this lande gefaren for than mycelau un-rihte the se cyng *Willelm*

him dyde. And siththan sona her-after se cyng ge-nam *Mahalde* him to wife *Malcolmes cynges dohtor* of *Scotlande* and *Margareta* thære goda cwæne *Eadwurdes cynges magan*, and of than rihtan *Ængla-landes kynne-kinne*; and on *sce Martines mæsse-dæg* heo wearth him, mid mycelan weorthscipe, for-gifen, on *Westmynstre*: and se arce-biscop *Ansealm* hi him bewæddade, and siththan to cwene gehalgode. And se arce-biscep *Thomas* of *Eaferwic* her-after sona forthferde. Theoses ylces geares eac innan hærfest com se eorl *Rotbert* ham into *Normandi* and se *Eorl Rotbert* of *Flandres* and *Eustatius* eorl of *Bunan* from *Jerusalem*. And sona swa se eorl *Rotbert* into *Normandig* com he wearth fram eallan tham folc blithelice under-fangen butan tham castelan the wæron gesætte mid thæs cynges *Heanriges* manna; togeanes tham he manega ge-wealc and gewinn hæfde.

MCI. Her on thisum geare to *Cristes mæssan* heold se cyng *Heanrig* his hired on *Westminstre*, and to *Eastan* on *Winceastre*; and tha sona thær-after wurdon tha heafod-men her on lande wither-ræden to-geannes tham cynges, ægther-gefor heoran agenan mycelan un-ge-trywthan and eac thurh thone eorl *Rodbert* of *Normandig* the mid unfrithe hider to-lande fundode. And se cyng siththan scipa ut on sæ sende his brother to dære and to lættinge; ac hi sume æft æt thære neode abruthon and fram tham cynges ge-cyrdon, and to tham eorle *Rotbertes* gebugan. Tha to middesumeran ferde se cyng ut to *Pefenesæ* mid eall his fyrde to-geanes his brother and his thær abad. Ac on-mang thison com se eorl *Rotbert* up æt *Portes-muthan* XII nihtan to foran *Hlaf-mæssan*, and se cyng mid ealre his fyrde him togeanes com: Ac tha heafod-men him betwenan foran, and tha brothra ge-sehtlodon on tha ge-rad;—thæt se cyng for-let eall thæt he mid streangthe innan *Normandig* togeanes tham eorl heold, and thæt

ealle tha on Engla-lande heora land ongearn hæfdon the hit ær thurh thone eorl for-luron, and *Eustatius* eorl eac eall his fæder land her on land; and thet se eorl *Rodbert* ælce geara sceolde of *Engla-lande* threo thusend marc seolfres habban; and loc hwether thær gebrothra otherne ofer-bide wære yrfe-weard ealles *Engla-landes* and eac *Normandiges*—buton se forth-farena yrfe-numan hæfde be rihtre æwe: and this tha mid athe gefestnodon XII tha hihste of ægthre healfe. And se eorl siththan oth thet ofer *sc*e *Michael*-mæsse her on lande wunode, and his men mycel to hearne æfre ge-dydon swa hi ge-ferdon tha hwile the se eorl her on lande wunode. Thises geares eac se biscop *Rannulf* to tham Candel-mæssan ut of tham ture on *Lunden*, nihtes, oth-bærst, thær he on hæftne the wæs, and to *Normandige* for: thurh thes mancunge (mæste) and to-spyrttinge se eorl *Rotbert* thises geares thes land mid un-frithe ge-sohte.

MCII. On thisum geara to *Nativiteth* wæs se cyng *Heanrig* on *Westmynstre*; and to *Eastron* on *Winceastre*: and sona thær-æfter wurdon un-sæhte se cyng and se eorl *Rotbert* of *Belasme*: Se hæfde thone eorldome her on lande on *Scrobbs-byrig* the his fæder *Roger* eorl ær ahte, and micel rice thær-to ægther-ge *beheonan* tha sæ, ge-begeondon. And se cyng ferde and besæt thone castel æt *Arundel*; ac tha he hine swa hrathe gewinnan ne mihte he let thær to-foran castelas gemakian and hi mid his mannan ge-sette, and siththan mid ealre his fyrde ferde to *Brigge*, [Bridgenorth,] and thær wunode oth thet he thone castel hæfde, and thone eorl *Rotbert* belænde and ealles benæmde thes he on *Engla-lande* hæfde: and se eorl swa ofer sæ gewat, and se fyrde siththan ham cyrde. Tha thær-æfter to *sc*e *Michael*-mæssan wæs se cyng æt *Westmynstre* and ealle tha heafod-men on this lande-gehadode and læwede; and se arce-biscop *Anselm*

heold ge-hadodra manna sinoth; and hi thær manega beboda setton the to Cristendome be-limpath, and ægther manige *frencisce* and *englisce* thær heora stafas and rice for-luron the hi mid *un-rihte* begeaton oththe mid *woge* thær-on lifedon.\*

MCIII. Her on thisum geare to *midewintra* wæs se cyng *Heanrig* æt *Wæst-mynstre*; And thær-æfter sona ferde se biscop *Willelm Gifford* ut of this land forthan the he on-gean riht nolde his hades on-son æt tham arce-biscop *Girarde* of *Eoferwic*. And tha to tham *Eastran* heold se cyng his hired on *Winceastre*: and thær-æfter ferde se arcebiscop *Ansealm* of Cant-war-byrig to *Rome* swa swa him and tham cyng gewearth. Thises geares eac com se Eorl *Rotbert* of *Normandig* to sprecene with thone cyng her on lande; and ær he heonne ferde he for-geaf tha threo thusend marc the him seo cyng *Heanrig*, be foreweard, ælce gcare gifan sceolde. On thisum geare eac æt *Heamstede* innan *Barrucscire* wæs gesewen blod weollan of eorthan. This wæs swithegedeorfsum gear her on lande thurh mæni-fealde gyld, and thurh orf-cwealm and wæstma for-weorthenesse ægther ge on corne, and eac on eallon treow-wæstman. Eac on morgen uppon *see Lau-rentius* mæsse-dæg ge-dyde se wind swa mycel to hearne her on lande on eallon wæstman swa ~~nan~~ man ne gemunde thæt æfre ænig ær gedyde.

MCIV. Her on thisum geare to *Cristes-mæssan* heold se cyng *Heanrig* his hired æt *Westmynstre* and to *Eastron* on *Win-ceastre* and to *Pentecosten* eft on *Westmynstre*. Thises

\* This account of the Council of London is closely followed by the Copyists of the Worcester Annals. "*Plures Abbates Francigenæ et Angli sunt depositi et honoribus privati quos injuste acquisierunt aut in eis inhoneste vixerunt.*"—*Sim. Dun.*

geares was se *forma Pentecostes dag* on *non. Iun.* and on tham *Twæs-dæge* thær-æfter ætywdon feower circulas to tham mid-dæge on-butan there sunnon, hwites hiwes, ælc under othran gebroiden swilce hi gemette wæron. Ealle the hit gesewon wundredon forthan hi næfre ær swilce ne gemundon. Her-after wurdon sehte se eorl *Rotbert* of *Normandig* and *Rotbert de Baiesme* the se cyng *Heanrig* æror bæland hæfde and of *Engla-lande* adri-fen; and thurh heora sehte wurdon wither-ræde se cyng of *Engla-lande* and se eorl of *Normandig*. And se cyng his folc ofer sæ into *Normandig* sende and tha beafod-men ther on lande hi under-fengon and on heora *hlafordes* thæs eorles swicdome into heora castelan gelogodan. Thanon hi manige ge-drecednyssa on hergunge and on bærninge tham eorla gedydon. Eac thises geares *Wilhelm* eorl of *Moretoun* heonon of lande into *Normandig* for, ac syththan he afaren was he with thone cyng geworhte for-hwan hine se cyng ealles benæmde, and belænde thæs the he her on lande hæfde. Nis eathe to asecgenne thises landes earmtha the hit to thisan timan dreogende was thurh mistlice and mænig-fealdlice unriht and gýld the næfre ne geswican ne ne ateorodon. And æfre, eal-swa se cyng for, ful hergung thurh his hired uppon his wreccea folc wæs, and thær-on-mang for oft bærneta and man-slihtas. Eall this was God mid to gremienne, and thas arme leode mid to tregienne.

mcv. On thisum geare to *Nativiteth* heold se cyng *Heanrig* his hired æt *Windlesoran*: and thær-æfter, to tham *Lengtene*, he for ofer sæ into *Normandig* uppon his brother *Rotbert* eorl. And on-mang tham the he thær wunode he ge-wann of his brother *Cathum*, and *Bains*; and mæst ealle tha castelas and tha beafod-men thær on lande him wurdon under-theodde, and se siththan, to herfest, eft ongean hider to lande com. And that he on

*Normandig* gewunnen hæfde syththan on sibbe and him gebygle wunode butan tha the tham eorle *Willelme* of *Mortoin* a-hwær neah wunedon, tha he gelondlice geswæncte swa he swithost mihte for his land-lyre her on lande. And to-foran *Cristes-messen*, com *Rotbert de Balasme* hider to lande to tham cyng. This was swithe dedyrifsum gear her on lande thurh wæstma forwordnessa, and thurh tha manig-fealde gyld the næfre ne geswican, ær se cyng ofer-fore, and tha hwile the he thær was, and eft syththan he ongear com.

mcvi. Her on thison gear was se cyng *Henrig* to *Natiueteth* on *Westmynstre* and thær his hired 'beald. And uppon thære tide *Rotbert de Balasme* mid un-sehte fram tham cyng ut of thison lande into *Normandige* for : Tha her-after on-foran *Langtene* was se cyng æt *North-hamtune*, and se eorl *Rotbert* his brother of *Normandig* thyder to him com ; and, forþam se cyng him nolde agyfan that the he on *Normandige* uppon him genumen hæfde, hie mid un-sehte to-hwurfon ; and se eorl ferde ofer se sona eft ongear. On thære foran *Langten wucan*, on thone *frige-dæg* xiv kl. Mar. on æfen ætwyde an un-gewunelic steorra, and lange stunde thær-after was ælce æfen gesewen, hwile scinende : Se steorra ætwyde innan thæt suth-west ; he was litel gethuht and deorc, ac se leoma the him fram stod was swyðe beorht, and swilce ormate beam gethuht north-east scinende, and sumne æfen was gesewen awilce se beam ongear-weardes with thes steorran-ward fyrceliende ware. Gehwilce sædon thæt hig ma on thison timon uncoutha steorra gesawon ac we hit openlicor ne awriton forþam the we hit-sylfe ne sawon. On the niht the on morgen was *Cena Domini*, that is, se *Thunres-dæg* to-foran *Eastron* wæron gesewen twegen monan on thære heafonan toforan tham dæge oðer be *eastan*, and se oðer be



*westan*, begen fulle : and thæs ylcan dæges wæs se mona xiv. To *Eastran* wæs se cyng æt *Bathan*, and to *Pentecosten* æt *Sear-byrig* ; forþam the he nolde on his wundunge ofer sæ hired healdan. Thær-æfter to foron *August* ferde se cyng ofer sæ into *Normandig*, and ealle mæst the thær on lande wæron him on his willan to gebugon withuton *Rotbert de Baesme* and tham eorle of *Mortoin* and feawa othre of tham *heafod-mannan* the mid tham eorle of *Normandige* the gyt heoldan, and forþan se cyng sythþan mid fyrde for and besæt thæs eorles ænne castel of *Moretoin*, — *Tenrecebrai* hatte. On-mang tham the se cyng thone castel besæt com se eorl *Rotbert* of *Normandig* on *sce Michaeles mæsse-æfen* uppon thone cyng mid his fyrde, and mid him *Rotbert de Baesme* and *Willelm* eorl of *Moretoin*, and ealle tha the mid heom woldon ; ac seo streongthe and seo sige wearth thæs cynges. Tha wearth se eorl of *Normandig* gefangen and se eorl of *Moretoin* and *Rotbert de Stutteuile* and to *Engla-lande* sythþan gesende and on hæftneþe gebrohte : *Rotbert de Baesme* thær wearth aflýmed, and *Willelm Crispin* gelæht, and manige forþ-mid. *Eadgar Ætheling*, the litle ær fram tham cyng to tham eorl wæs gefaren thær wæs eac gefangen : thone let se cyng sythþan sac-leas faran. Sythþan ge-eode se cyng eall thæt on *Normandige* wæs, and hit on his willan and gewælde gesette. Thises geares eac wæron swithe hefige and sinlige gewinne betwux tham *Casere* of *Sexlande* and his sunu, and on-mang tham gewinnan se fæder forþferde and se sunu feng to tham rice.

MCVII. On thisum geare to *Cristes-mæssan* wæs se cyng *Henri* on *Normandig* and thæt land on his gewælde dihte and sette ; and thær-æfter to *Længtene* hider to lande com, and to *Eastran* his hired on *Windlesoran* heold and to *Pentecosten* on *West-mynstre* : and sythþan

eft to Augustes anginne on Westmynstre wæs and thær tha biscop-ricen and abbot-ricen geaf and sette the on Engle-lande oththe on Normandige buton ealdre and hyrde wæron : Thera wæron swa fela swa nan man næs the gemunde thæt æfre ær swa fela to-gædere gyfene wæron. This wæs rihtlice ymb vii gear thæs the se cyng Henri eynedomes on-feng and wæs thæt an and fowertigethe gear thæs the Francan thises landes weoldan. Manige sædon thet hi on tham monan thises geares mistlice tacna gesawon and ongean cynde his leoman wexende and waniende. Thises geares forth-ferdon Mauricius biscop of Lunden and Rotheart abbot on sce Eadmundes-byrig and Ricard abbot on Elig. Thises geares eac forthferde se cyng Eadgar on Scotlande, Idus Januar. ; and feng Alexander his brother to tham rice swa se cyng Henri him geuthe.

MCVIII. Her on thisum geare wæs se cyng *Henri* to *Nativiteth* on West-mynstre, and to *Eastron* on *Win-ceastre*, and to *Pentecosten* eft on Westmynstre : And thær-æfter to-foran *Aug.* he ferde into *Normandig*. And se cyng of France *Philippus* forthferde *Non. Aug.* and feng his sunu *Lothewis* to tham rice : and wurdon syththan manege gewinn betwux tham cynges of *France* and tham of *Engle-land* tha hwile the he on *Normandig* wunode. On thisum geare eac forthferde se arce-biscop *Girard* of *Eoferwic* to-foran *Pentecosten*, and wearth syththan *Thomas* thær-to gesett.

MCIX. Her on thison geare wæs se cyng *Henri* to *Cristes-mæssan*, and to *Eastron* on *Normandig*, and to-foren *Pentecosten* hider to lande com and his hired on *Westmynstre* heold. Thær wurdon tha forewearda full worhte and tha athas gesworene his dohtor tham *Casere* to gifene. Thises geares gewurdon swithe fela thünra and tha swithe ægeslice. And se arcebiscop *Anselm* of *Cant-*

*vara-byrig* forthferde on tham dæge: xi *kl. Apr.* And was se forma Easter dæg on *Letenia maior*.

*mcx.* On thisum geare heold se cyng *Henri* his hired to *Cristes-mæssan* æt *Westmynstre*, and to *Easton* he was æt *Merle-beorge*, and to *Pentecosten* forman sitha his hired on tham *nivan Windlesoran* heold. Thises geares sende se cyng to-foran *Lengtene* his dohtor mid mænigfealdan mathman ofer sæ and hi tham *Casere* for-geaf. On there fiftan nihte on *Maies* monthe ætywde se *mons* on æfan beorhte scinende and siththan litlan and litlan his leoht wanode swa thæt he sona nihtes to there swythe mid-eall acwanc thæt nather ne leoht ne trandel ne nan thing mid ealle of him was gesæwen, and swa thurh-wunode ful-neah oth dæg, and siththan full and beorhte scinende ætywde: he was there ylcan dæges feowertyne nihta eald. Ealle tha niht was seo lyft swithe clene and tha steorran ofer eall tha heofan-swithe beorhte scinende; and treow-wæstmas wurdon there nihta thurh forste swithe for-numen: Thær-after on *Junes* monthe ætywde an steorra northan eastan, and his leoma stod to-foran him on thæt suth-west and thus manega niht was gesewen, and furthor nihtes syththan he ufor astah he was gesewen on-bæc on thæt north-west gangende. Thises geares wurdon belænde *Philippus de Brause* and *Willelm Mallet* and *Willelm Bainart*. Eac thises geares forth-ferde *Elias* eorl the tha *Mannaie* of tham cyngs *Heanri* geheold and on cweow:\* and æfter his forsiðe feng-to se eorl of *Angeow* and he togeanes tham cynges

\* "*Lectio fortasse vitiosa: certe vocabuli significatio me latet.*"—*Gibson*.

"*held Maine in fee-tail*: the territory was not a fee-simple, but subject to taillage or taxation; and that particular species is probably here intended which is called

heold. This was swithe gedearfsum gear her on lande, thurh gylde the se cyng nam for his dohter gyfte, and thurh ungewædera for-hwan eorð-waestas wurdon swithe amyrde and treow-weastas ofer eall this land for-neah eall for-wurdon. Thises geares me began aroet to weorcene on tham niwan mynstre on *Geortes-æge*.

MCXI. On thison geare ne bæc se cyng *Henri* his coronan to *Cristes-mæsse* ne to *Eastron* ne to *Pentecosten*; and innan *August* he ferde ofer sæ into *Normandig* for unsehte the with him hæfdon sume be tham gemæron of *France*, and swithost for tham eorle of *Angeow* the tha Mannie togeanes him heold; and, siththan he thider ofer-com, manega unrada and bæraetta and hergunga hi heom betweenan gedydon. On thison geare forth ferde se eorl *Rotbert* of *Flandron* and feng his sunu *Baldewine* thær-to. Thises geares was swithe lang winter and hefig time and strang, and thurh that eorð-waestas wurdon swithe amyrde; and gewearth se mæsta of-cwealm the anig mann mihte gemunan.

MCXII. Eall this gear wunode se cyng *Henri* of *Normandig* for there unsehte the he hæfde with *France* and with thone eorl of *Angeow* the tha Mannie togeanes him heold. And on-mang tham the he thær was he belanda thone eorl of *Eureus* and *Willelm Crispin* and ut of *Normandi* adraf, and *Philippe de Brans* his land ageaþ the ær was beland, and *Rotbert de Balame* he let niman and

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in old French *en queuage*, an expression not very different from that in the text."—*Ingram*.

[The lawyers derive it *otherwise*—quasi *feodum talliatum*—an inferior fee cut out of the fee-simple at the will of the proprietor: the term has nothing to do with the duty called *tallage*.]

on prisune don. This was swithe god gear and swithe wistfull on wudon and on feldan, ac hit was swithe befig time and sorhfull thurh or-mætne man-cwealm.

MCXIII. Her on thison gear was se cyng *Henri* to *Nativiteth* and to *Eastron* and to *Pentecosten* on *Normandig*. And thær-æfter to *sumeran* he sende hider to lande *Rotbert de Balesme* into tham castele to *Werham*, and him-sylf sona thær-æfter hider to lande com.

MCXIV. On thison gear heold se cyng *Henri* his hired to *Nativiteth* on *Windlesoran*, and thæs geares syththan he ne heold hired nan oftar. And to *middan-sumeran* he ferde mid ferde into *Wealon*, and tha *Wyliscean* comon and with thone cyng grithedon, and he let thær-inne castelas weorcean, and thær æfter innan *September* he for ofer sæ into *Normandig*. Thises geares on *asteward Mai* was gesewen an selcuth steorra mid langan leoman manege niht sci-nende. Eac on this ylcan gear was swa mycel ebbæ æghwær anes dæges swa nan man æror ne gemunde, and swa thæt man ferde ridende and gangende ofer *Temæe* be eastan thære brigge on *Lunden*. Thises geares wæron swithe mycele windas on *October* monthe, ac he was ormæte mycel on tha niht *octab. Sancti Martini*, and that gehwær on wudon and on tunan gecydde. Fac on thisum gear se cyng geaf thæt *arcebiscop-rice* on *Cant-wara-byrig Raulfe* se was æror biscop on *Hrofe-ceastre*. And se arcebiscop on *Eoferwic Thomas* forthferde and feng *Turstein* thær-to : se was æror thæs cynges capelein.

MCXV. Her was se cyng *Henri* to *Nativiteth* on *Normandig* ; and on-mang tham the he thær was he dyde thæt ealle tha heafod-men on *Normandig* dydon man-rædan and hold-athas his sunu *Willelme* the he be his cwene hæfde ; and æfter than syththan innon *Julies* monthe hider into lande com. Thises geares was swa strang winter mid snawe and mid forste swa nan man

the tha lifode ær than nan strengre ne gemunde; and wearth thurh thæt un-gemæte orf-cwealm. On thison geare sænde se papa *Paschalis Raulfe* arcebisceope on *Cant-wara-byrig* pallium hider to lande, and he his on-feng mid mycclan wurthscipe æt his arce-stole on *Cant-wara-byrig*: hine brohte *Ansealm* abbot, of Rome (se wæs nefa *Ansealmes* arcebisceopes)—and se abbot *Johan* of *Burh*.

MCKVI. On thisan geare wæs se cyng *Henri* to *Nati-viteth* æt *see Albane*, and thær let thæt mynster hal-gian; and to *Eastron* on *Wudiham*. And wæs eac thises geares swithehefig tyme winter and strang and lang with orf and with ealle thing. And se cyng æfter *Eastron* sona ferde ofer sæ into *Normandig*; and wurdon manega unræda and ræfunga and castelas genumene betwux *France* and *Normandig*. Mæst this unsehte wæs forthan the se cyng *Henri* fylste his nefan tham eorle *Tadbalde de Blais* the tha wyrre hæfde togeanes his hlaforde than cyng of *France*, *Lothewis*. This wæs swithe geswincfull gear and byrstfull on eorth-wæstman thurh tha ormæte reinas the coman sona on-foran *Auguste* and swithe gedrehton and geswencton the git the com *Candel-mæssan*. Eac this gear wæs swa gæsne on mæstene swa thæt on callon thison lande ne eac on *Wealon* ne ge-hyrde me of nanan secgean. This land and thas leodan wurdon eac thises geares oft-rædlice rade geswencte thurh tha gyld the se cyng nam ægther ge binnan burgan and butan.

MCKVII. Eall this gear wunode se cyng *Henri* on *Normandig* for thes cynges un-seht of *France* and his oðra nehheburas. And tha to than sumeran com se cyng of *France* and se eorl of *Flandra* mid him mid fyrde into *Normandig* and ane niht thær-inne wunedon, and on morgen butan geteohte ongean ferdan. And *Normandig* wearth swythe gedreht ægther ge thurh gyld ge thurh

fynde the se cyng *Henri* thær ongean gaderode: Eac theos theode thurh this ylce thurh mænig-feald gyld wearth strange geswenct. Thises geares eac on thære nihte *kl. Decembris* wurdon ormaetlica wædera mid thunre and lightinge and reine and hagole. And on thære nihte *iii idus Decembris* wearth se *mons* lange nihtes swileo he eall blodig wære and siththan athistode. Eac on thære nihte *xvii kl. Janr.* wæs seo heofon swythe read gesowen swylce hit bryne wære: and on *octabus sci Joannis Evangelistæ* wæs seo mycele eorth-byfung on *Lambrdige* for hwan manega mynstras and turas and huses gefeollon and mycelne hearm on mannan ge-dydon. This wæs swithe byrstful gear on corne thurh tha renas the for-neh ealles geares ne ge-swicon. And se abbot *Gilbert* of *Westmynstre* forthferde *viii idus Decembris*, and *Paris* abbot of *Abbandune* *vii kl. Martii*. And on thisum ylcan geare . . . . .

MCXVIII. Her eall this gear wunode se cyng *Henri* on *Normandig* for thes cynges wyrr of France and thæs eorles of *Angeow* and thæs eorles of *Flandran*. And se eorl of *Flandra* warth innan *Normandig* gewundod and swa gewundon into *Flandran* for. Thurh thisra unsehte wearth se cyng swythe gedreht and mycel for-leas ægther ge on feoh and eac on lande; and mæste hine dryfdon his agene men the him gelome fram bugon and swicon and to his feondan cyrdon, and heom, to thæs cynges hearne and swicdome, heora castelas ageafon. Eall this strange gebohte *Eagle-lande* thurh tha mænig-fealdlice gyld the ealles thises geares ne geswicon. On thison geare on thære *woson Theophanie* wæs anes æfenes swithe mycel lihtinge and ungemetlice slæge thær-æfter. And seo owa *Mahald* forthferde on *Westmynstre* thæs dæges *kl. Mai*, and thær wæs bebyrged: And se eorl *Rotbert* of *Mellent* thises geares eac forthferde. Eac on thison geare to see *Thomas*

masse was swa swyðe ungemetlice mycel wind that nan man the tha lifode nenne maran ne gemunde; and that was aghwar geseone ægher ge on husan and eac on treowan. Thises geares eac forthferde se papa *Paschalis* and feng *Johan* of *Gaius* to tham Pap-dome, tham was oðer nama *Gelasius*.

MCCIX. This gear eall wunode se cyng *Henri* on *Normandig*; and was, thurh thæs cynges wyrre of France and eac his agenra manna the him mid swiðdome fram waror mid abugon, oft-rædlice swiðe gedreht oða thet tha twa gean cyngas innan *Normandige* mid hearan folcan comen togædere. Thær wearth seo cyng of France aflymed and ealle his betste man getumene; and syththan thæs cynges man *Heanriges* manega him to gebugen and with him acordedan the æror mid heora castelan him togeanes waron; and same tha castelas he mid strengthe geearn. Thises geares ferde *Willm* thæs cynges sunu *Heanriges* and thær eowen *Mahalde* into *Normandige* to his fæder, and thær wearth him for-gifen and to wife beweddod thære eorles dohtor of *Angeow*. On sce *Michæles-mæsse* afeow was mycel eorð-byfung on suman steodan her on lande theah swithost on *Glowe-ceastre-scire* and on *Wigne-ceastre-scire*. On this ylcan gear forthferde se papa *Gelasius* on thas halfe thære muntan and was on *Chunig* bebyrged; and æfter him se arcebiscop of *Uiana* wearth to Papan gecoren, tham wearth nama *Calistus*; se syththan to sce *Lucas-mæssan Euangelista* com into France to *Ramy* and thær heold *Concilium*; and se arcebiscop *Turstein* of *Egferwic* thyder ferde; and for-thi the he to-geanes rihte and to-geanes tham arce-stole on *Cantwara-byrig* and togeanes thæs cynges willan his had æt tham Papan under-feng, him withwætha se cyng alocæ gean-fares to *Engla-lande* and he thus his arcebiscop-riht thærnode and mid tham Papan towarðes Rome for. Eac



on thison geare forthferde se eorl *Baldewine* of *Flandran* of tham wundan the he innan *Normandig* gefeng; and æfter him feng *Carl* his fatha sunu to tham rice: se wæs *Cnutes* sunu thæs haligan cynges of *Denmarcan*.

xxx. Thises geares wurdon sehte seo cyng of Engle-lande and se of France: and æfter heora sehte acordedan ealle thæs cynges *Heanriges* agenne mæn with hine innan *Normandige* and se eorl of *Flandran* and se of *Pontio*. Syththan her-æfter sætte se cyng *Heurig* his castelas and his land on *Normandi* æfter his willan, and swa to-foran *Advent* hider to lande for: And on tham fare wurdon adruncene thæs cynges twegen sunan *Willelm* and *Ricard*, and *Ricard* eorl of *Ceastre* and *Ottuel* his brother and swithe manega of thæs cynges hired *Stiwardas*, and *Burthenas* and *Byrlas* and of mystlicean wican, and ungerim swithe *Ænglices* folces forth-mid. Thysra death wæs heora freondan twy-fealdlic sar,—an thæt hi swa fearlice thises lifes losedan,—other thæt feawa heora lichaman ahwær syththan fundena wæron. Thises geares com thet leoht to *Sepulchrum Domini* innan *Jerusalem* twiges, anes to *Eastron*, and othre siþe to *Assumptio sce Marie* swa swa geleaffulle sædon the thanon coman. And se arcebisceop *Turstein* of *Eoferwic* wearth thurh thone *Papan* with thone cyng accordad, and hider to lande com and his bis-coprices on-feng theah hit tham arcebiscope of *Cantwara-byrig* swithe un-gewille wære.

mcxxi. Her wæs se cyng *Henri* to *Christes-mæssan* on *Brantune*. And thær-æfter to-foran *Candel-mæssan* on *Windleoran* wæs him to wife for-gyfen *Athelis* and siþthan to cwene gehalgod: seo wæs thæs *Here-togan* dohtor of *Luuain* [*Lorain*]. And se mona athystrode on thære nihte *None Aprilis*: and wæs xiv luna. And se cyng wæs to *Eastron* on *Beorclea*; and thær-æfter to *Pentecosten* he heold mycelne hyred on West-mynstre, and syththan

thæs sumeres mid fyrde into *Wealan* for : and tha *Wylis-  
cean* him ongean coman and æfter thæs cynges willan hi  
wïth hine acordedan. Thises geares com se eorl of  
*Angeow* fram *Jerusalem* into his lande ; and syththan hider  
to lande sende and his dohtor let feccean : seo wæs *Wil-  
lelm* thes cynges sune æror to wife for-gyfan. And on  
thære nihte *Vigilia natalis Domini* wæs swythe mycel  
wind ofer eall this land, and thet wearth on manegan  
thingan swithe gesene.

Any one of *Remaldus'* years is as good as another, and therefore his first and second years only are here transcribed as a specimen, together with his account of the abbot *Henry*. This examination will enable us to judge truly of his *honesty, temper, and sense*.

He has confounded the dates throughout the whole of his compilation, (the copy *Laud*.) and it is always necessary to compare his dating with the other copies, in order to be correct. With this view *Stigand's Annals* may be usefully compared with *Wulstan's*; and, in addition to the article of 1001, (v. p. 211,) the *Cambridge* copy contains *one* other short article, also attributable to *Elphégus*, and numbered 993, which should be compared with *Elfric's* 993 and 994.

DCCCCXCIII. Her on thissum geare com *Unlaf* mid thrym and hund nigentigon scipum to *Stane* and forhergodon thæt on ytan: and for tha thonan to *Sandwic*, and swa thonan to *Gypeswic* and thæt eal ofer-eode, and swa to *Mældune*: and him com thær to-geanes *Bryhtnoth* ealdorman mid his fyrde and him with gefeagt, and hie thone ealdorman thær of-slogon and wæl-stowe gewæld ahton; and him man nam frith with, and hine nam se cyning syththan to biscepes handa [thurh *Sirices* lare Cant-ware biscepes and *Ælfeages* Win-cæstre.\*]

\* Wheloc, from his Peterborough copy.

## EXTRACTS FROM REMALDUS.

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MCXXII. On this geare was se cyng *Henri* on *Cristes-*  
*massan* on *Norht-wic* and on *Paschas* he was on *Norht-*  
*hamtune*. And on thone *Lenten-tyde* thær-to-foren for-  
bearn se burch on *Gleawe-ceastre*: Tha hwile the tha  
munecas sunge thære mæsse and se *Dean* hafde on-  
gunnan thone Godspell *Præteriens* *Jesus* tha com se fyr-  
on ufen-weard thone stepel and for-hærnde ealle the  
mynstre and ealle tha gersurnes the thær biænna wæron  
for-uton feawe hec and iii messe-hakeles: That wes thæs  
dæis *viii idus Mart.* And thær-after, the *Tiwesdæi* aften  
*Palmes-Sunendæi*, was swithe micel wind on thot dæi  
*xi kl. Apr.* Thær-after comen feole tacne wide hwear on  
*Engle-land* and feole *dwild* wearen geseogen and geheard.  
And thes niht *viii kl. Aug.* was swithe micel eorþ-dyn-  
ofer eall *Sumer-sete-scire* and on *Gleawe-centre-scire*. Sith-  
thon on thæs dæi *vi idus Sept.* thet was on *se Marie-*  
*mæsse-dæi* tha wearth swithe micel wind fram the

undern dæies to tha swarte nihte. Theos ilce geares forth-ferde *Raulf* seo *arcebiscop* of *Cant-wara-byrig*: thæt wæs on thæs dæies *xiii kl. Nouemb.* Thær-æfter waron *feole scip-men* on sæ and on wæter and sædon thæt hi sægon on north-east *fir micel and brad* with thone eorthe and weax on lengthe up on an to tham wolcne and se wolcne undide on fower healfe and faht thær-to geanes swilc hit scolde á cwencen: And se fir weax na-tha-ma up to the heouene: Thæt fir hi seagon in the dæi-rime and læste swa lange thæt hit wæs liht ofer eall: thet wæs thæs dæies *vii idus Decemb.*

**MCXXIII.** On thissum geare wæs se cyng *Henri* on *Cristes-tide* æt *Dunestaple*; and thær comen thes eorles *sandes-men* of *Angeow* to him: and theonen he ferde to *Wudestoke*, and his biscopes and his hird eall mid him. Tha tidde hit on an *Wodnesda*—thet wæs on *iv idus Januar*,—thæt se king rad in his der-fald and se biscop *Roger* of *Seres-byrig* on an half him, and se biscop *Rotbert Bloet* of *Lincolne* on other half him, and riden thær spre-cende: Tha aseh dune se biscop of *Lincolne* and seide to tham kyng—*Laferd kyng ic swelte!* and se kyng alihte dune of his hors and alehte hine betwux his earmes and let hine beran ham to his inne, and wearth tha sone dead; and man ferode hine to *Lincolne* mid mycel wurthscepe and bebyrigde hine to-foren sce *Marie* wefod; and hyne bebyrigde se biscop of *Ceastre* *Rotbert Pecceth* wæs geha-ten. Tha sona thær-æfter sende se kyng hise write ofer eall Engla-lande and bed hise biscopes and hise abbates and hise theignes ealle thet hi scolden cumen to his gewitene-mot on *Candel-messe-deig* to *Gleaw-ceastre* him to-geanes; and hi swa diden. Tha hi wæran thær gegaderod tha bed se cyng heom thæt hi scoldon cesen ham *Ærce-biscop* to *Cant-wara-byrig* swa-hwam-swa swa hi woldon and he hem hit wolde tythian. Tha spræcon tha biscopas hem

betwenan and sæden thæt hi næfre mare ne wolden hafen munec-hades-man to *Erce-biscop* ofer hem; ac iedon ealle samodlice to thone kyng and ieornden thæt hi mosten cessen of clerc-hades-man swa-hwam-swa swa hi wolden to *ercebiscop*, and se kyng hit hem tidde. This wæs eall eargedon thurh se *biscop* of *Seres-byrig* and thurh se *biscop* of *Lincolne* ær he wære dead, for-thi thet næfre ne luueden hi munece regol, ac wæron æfre togeanes muneces and here regol. And se *Prior* and se *munecas* of *Cant-wara-byrig*, and ealle tha othre the thær wæron munec-hadesmen hit with-cwæthen fulle twa dagas, ac hit naht ne beheld for se *biscop* of *Seres-byrig* wæs strang and wealde eall Engle-land and wæs thær togeanes eall thæt he mihte and cuthe. Tha cuseu hi an clerc *Willelm* of *Curboil* wæs gehaten, he wæs *canonie* of an mynstre *Cice*. hatte, and brohten him to-foren se king; and se kyng him geaf thone *erce-biscop-rice*, and ealle tha *biscopas* him underfengan: Him with-cwæthen muneces and eorles and theignes ealle mest the thær wæron. On tha ilca tyme ferdn thes eorles *sandes-men* mid un-sæhte fram se kyng, na of his gyfe naht ne rohton. On tha ylca tyme com an *Legat* of *Rome*—*Henri* wæs gehaten—(he wæs abbot of sce *Joannes* mynstre of *Anieli*)—and he com æfter the *Rome-scot*, and he sæde thone cyng thæt hit wæs to-geanes riht thæt man scolde setten *clerc* ofer *muneces*, and swa swa hi hæfdn cosen *Ærce-biscop* æror in here capitele æfter rihte; ac se cyng hit nolde un-don for thes *biscop luuen* of *Seres-byrig*. Tha ferde se *Ærce-biscop* sune thær-æfter to *Cant-wara-byrig* and wæs thær under-fengan thæh hit wære here un-thancas, and wæs there sona gebletsod to *biscop* fram se *biscop* of *Lundene* and se *biscop* *Ernulf* of *Roue-ceastre* and se *biscop* *Willelm Gifard* of *Winceastre* and se *biscop* *Bernard* of *Wales* and se *biscop* *Roger* of *Seares-byrig*. Tha sone in the *Lenten* ferde se *ærce-biscop* to *Rome* æfter

his Pallium and mid him ferde se biscop *Bernard* of Wales and *Sefred* abbot of *Gleasting-byrig* and *Anselm* abbot of *S. Edmund* and *Johan* ærce-dæne of *Cant-wara-byrig* and *Gifard*, (was thes kinges hird-clero.) On tha ilca tima ferde se *Ærce-biscop Thurstan* of *Eaferwic* to *Rome*, thurh thes *Papes* hese, and com thider thre dagas ær se *Ærce-biscop* of *Cant-wara-byrig* com and was there underfangan mid micel wurth-scipe. Tha com se *Ærce-biscop* of *Cant-wara-byrig* and was there fulle seouenihȝt ær he mihte cumen to thes *Papes spræc*: that was forthan that hit was don thone *Pape* to under-standen that he hæfde underfangen thone *Ærce-biscop-ric*e to-geanes tha munces of the mynstre and to-geanes rihte. Ac that ofercom *Rome* that ofer-cumeth *eall-weoruld*: that is, gold and seolure: and se *Pape* swetholode, and gaf him his Pallium; and se *Ærcebiscop* swor him under-theodnyse of ealle tha thing that se *Papa* him on leide on *S. Petros* heuod and *S. Pauls*, and sende him ham tha mid his bletsunge. Tha hwile that se *ærce-biscop* was ut of lande geaf se cyng thone biscop-ric of *Baths* thes cwenes canceler *Godefreith* was gehaten (he was boren of *Luacien*); that was thes dæiges *Annuntiatio S. Marie* at *Wudestoke*. Tha sons thær-after ferde se kyng to *Winceastre* and was ealle *Eastren-tyde* there; and tha hwile that he thær was tha geaf he thone biscoprice an clero *Alexander* was gehaten, (he was thes biscopes nefe of *Seares-byrig*;) This he dyde eall for thes biscopes lusen. Tha ferde se kyng thenen to *Portes-mathe* and lei there eall ofer *Pentecoste-wuce*: tha sone swa he hæfde wind swa ferde he ofer into *Normandie*, and betæhte tha eall Engle-land to geamene and to wealden thone biscop *Roger* of *Seares-byrig*. Tha was se cyng eall thes-geares in *Normandie* and weax tha micel un-frith betwux him and hise theignas, swa that se eorl *Walaram* of *Mellant* and

*Hamalri* and *Hugo* of *Mundford* and *Willelm* of *Romare* and fela othre wendan fram him and helden here casteles him to-geanes. And se kyng held stranglice hem to-geanes; and thes ilces geares he wan of *Walavan* his castel *Punt Aldemer*, and of *Hugo Mundford*; and sið then he spedde æfre leong the bet. Thes ylce geares ær se *biscop* of *Lincolne* com to his *biscop-ric*e for-beorn eall meast se *Burh* of *Lincolne* and micel un-gerime folces wæpmen and wimmen for-burnen: and swa micel hearm thær was gedon swa nan man hit cutha oðre seogen: that was thes dæges *xiv kl. Junii*.

**MCXVII.** This gear heald se kyng *Harwi* his hird at *Cristes-messe* on *Windlesoure*: thær was se *Scotte kyng David* and eall tha *heaved lered* and *læued* that was on Engle-land, and thær he let sweren *ære-biscope*s and *biscope*s and *abbotes* and *eorles* and ealle tha theines tha thær wæron his dohter *Æthelic* Engle-land and *Normandi* to hande. æfter his dæi the ær was thes *Cæcere* wif of *Sexlande*, and sende hire siðthen to *Normandi*: and mid hire ferde hire brother *Rotbert* eorl of *Glen-ceastre* and *Brian* thes eorles sunu *Alein Fergan*, and leot hire be-weddan thes eorles sunu of *Angeow*, *Gosfreith Martel* was gehaten. Hit of-thuhte na-the-ma eall frencise and englisc, oc se kyng hit dyde for to hauene sibbe of se eorl of *Angeow* and for helpe to hauene togeanes his neue *Willelm*. Thes ilcea gæres on thone Lenten-tide was se eorl *Karle* of *Flandres* of-slagen on ane circe (thær he læt and bæd hine to Gode):—to-for thone weofode—among thære messe—fram his agenne manne. And se kyng of *France* brohte thone eorles sunu *Willelm* of *Normandi* and hæf hine thone eorlde and thet land-folc him with-to: thes ilce *Willelm* hæfde æror numen thes eorles dohter of *Angeow* to wife oc hi wæron siðthen to-tweamde for sibreden: (thet was eall thurh thone kyng *Harwi* of



*Engle-land* :) siththen tha nam he thes kynges wifes swuster of France to wife, and for-thi iæf se kyng him thone *eorldom* of *Flandres*. Thes ilce gæres he geaf thone abbot-*rice* of *Burch* an abbot *Heanri* wæs gehaten of *Peitowe*. Se hæfde his abbot-*rice* *S. Johannis* of *Angeli* on-hande, and ealle tha ærce-biscope and biscope seidon *thæt hit wæs togeanes riht*,—and *thæt he ne mihte hafæn twa abbot-rices on-hande*; oc se ilce *Heanri* dide thone kyng to understandene *thæt he hæfde læten his abbot-*rice* for *thæt micle un-sibbe* *thæt wæs on *thæt land**, and *thæt he dide thurh thes *Papes* ræd and leue of Rome* and thurh thes *abbotes* of *Clunni*\* and thurh *thæt he wæs Legat* of thone *Rome-scott*, (oc hit ne wæs na-the-ma eall-swa oc he wolde hauen bathe on hand, and swa hæfde swa lange swa Godes wille wæs.) He wæs on his Clærc-hade *biscop* on *Scæsscuns*, siththan warth he *munec* on *Clunni*, and siththon *Prior* on thone *seolue* mynstre, and siththon he wæth *Prior* on *Sauenni*: *thar-æstor* thurh *thæt he wæs thes kynges mæi of Engle-land* and thes *eorles* of *Peitowe* tha geaf se eorl him thone abbot-*rice* of *S. Johannes* mynstre of *Angeli*, siththon thurh his micle wrences tha bejæt he thone *ærce-biscop-*rice** of *Besencun* and hæfde hit tha on hande thre dagas, tha for-læs ne *thæt mid rihte forþi* *thæt he hit hæfde æror bejeten mid un-rihte*; siththon tha bejet he thone *biscop-*rice** of *Seintes*, *thæt wæs fif mile fram his abbot-*rice**; *thæt he hæfde full-neah seoueniht on hande*: Thenon broht se abbot him of *Clunni* swa swa he æror dide of*

\* “Post hæc venit quidam Henricus Abbas de Angeli et persuasit regi reliquisse se abbatiam suam propter guerram, et hoc per consilium Papæ et Abbatis Cluniacensis fecisse; et mentitus est, sed hoc finxit ut haberet duas abbatias in manu,” &c. &c.—*Hugo*, 73, 74, and 75.

*Besencun.* Tha bethohte he him thætġ if he mihte ben *rot-fest* on *Engle-land* thæt he mihte habben eall his wille, besohte tha thone kyng and sæide him thæt he wæs *cald* man and *for-brocen* man and thæt he ne mihte tholen tha micele un-rihte and tha micele un-sibbe tha wæron on *here* land, and jærnde tha thurh him and thurh eall his freond namcuthlice thone *abbot-ric*e of *Burch*: and se cyng het him jætte for-thi thæt he wæs his mæj and for-thi thæt he wæs an hæfod tha ath to swerene and witnesse to berene thær tha eorles sunu of *Normandi* and thes eorles dohter of *Angeow* wæron to-twemde for sibreden: thus earmlice wæs thone *abbot-ric*e gifen betwix *Cristes-mæsse* and *Candel-mæsse* at *Lundene*: And swa he ferde mid the cyng to *Wincestre*, and thanon he com to *Burch*, and thar he wunede ealle riht swa drane doth on hiue: eall thæt tha beon dragen to-ward swa fret tha drane and dragath fra-ward: swa dide he;—eall thæt he mihte tacen withinnen and withuten of læred and of læwed swa he sende ouer sæ; and na god thær ne dide, ne na god thær ne læuede. Ne thince man na sellice, (*Vide* pp. 172 and 173.)

MCXXVIII. \* \* \* \* And thes ilces geares ferde se foren-sprecene abbot *Henri ham* to his *agen* mynstre to *Peitou* be thes kynges leue. He dyde thone kyng to understanden thæt he wolde mid alle for-læten thone mynstre and thæt land and thær wunien mid him on *Engla-*lande and on thone mynstre of *Burh*: Oc hit ne was na-the-ma swa; he hit dide forþi thæt he wolde thurh his micele wiles thear beon, wær hit tweolf-month oththe mare and siþthon ongeon cumen. *God ælmihtig* haue his milce ofer thæt wrecce stede. \* \* \* \*

MCXXX \* \* \* Thes ilces geares com se abbot *Heanri* of *Angeli* æfter *Æsterne* to *Burch* and seide thæt he hæfde for-læten thone mynstre mid-ealle. *Æfter* him com se abbot

of *Clunni*.—*Petrus* gehaten—to *Engle-lande* bi thes kynges leue, and wæs under-fangen ouer eall swa-hwar-swa he com mid micel wurthscipe. To *Burch* he com, and thær behet se abbot *Heanri* him thæt hi scolde bejeton him thone mynstre of *Burch* thæt hit scolde beon under-thed into *Clunni*: oc man seith to bi-worde, “Hæge sitteth tha aceres dæleth:” *God almihtig* adylege iuele ræde. And sone thær-æfter ferde se abbot of *Clunni* ham to his ærde.

MCXXXI \* \* \* \*. Thes ilces geares for se abbot *Heanri* to-foren *Eastren* fram *Burch* ofer sæ to *Normandi* and thær spreac mid thone kyng and sæide him thet se abbot of *Clunni* heafde him beboden thæt he scolde cumen to him and betæcen him thone abbot-ricc of *Angeli* and siththen he wolde cumen ham be his læfe: and swa he ferde ham to his *agen* mynstre and thær wunode eall to mid-sumer-dæi. And thes other dæies æfter *S. Joannes masse-dæg* cusen tha muneces abbot of hem-self and brohten him into cyrce mid *processionem*—sungen *Te Deum laudamus*—ringden tha belle—setten him on thes abbotes settle—diden him ealle hersumnesse swa swa hi scolden don here abbot; and se eorl and ealle tha heafed-menn and tha muneces of tha mynstre flemden se other abbot *Heanri* ut of tha mynstre: Hi scoldon nedes.—on fif and twenti wintre ne biden hi næfre an god dæg. Her him truce ealle his mycele codde in ælce hyrne gif thær wære hure an un-wreste wrenc thæt he mihte get beswicen anes *Crist* and eall cristene folc. Tha ferde he into *Clunni*, and thær man him held thæt he ne mihte na east na west;—sæide se abbot of *Clunni* thæt hi heafdon for-loron *S. Joannes* mynstre thurh him and thurh his mycele sot-scipe. Tha ne cuthe he him na betre bote bute behet hem and athes swor on halidom thæt gif he moste *Engle-land* gesen thæt he scolde begeton hem thone mynstre of *Burch* swa thæt he scolde set-

ten thær *Prior* of *Chummi* and *Circe-weard* and *Hordere* and *Reilthein* ; and ealle tha thing tha wæron withinne mynstre and withuten, eall he scolde hem be-tæcen ; thus he ferde into *France* and thær wunode eall thæt gear. *Crist* ræde for tha wrecce muneces of *Burch* and for thæt wrecce stede : Nu hem behofeth *Cristes* helpe and eall cristenes folces.

Josseling has inserted in the blank leaves of the book *Tiberius*, B. IV. the ten years written by Remaldus *only* : *i. e.* from the end of 1121 to the end of 1131; so that the Peterborough history which he, *Wheloc*, and *Wharton*, made use of, wanted *Hugo's* contribution ; whose account of the final expulsion of the *abbot Henry*, and of king *Stephen's reign*, appears below : it is hard to say whether Hugo *is a better writer* than Remaldus, or Remaldus than Hugo ; but as for *spelling*, I think Remaldus has the best of it.

## EXTRACTS FROM HUGO.

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MCXXXII. This gear com Henri *king* to this land : tha com Henri *abbot* and uureide tha muneces of *Burch* to the king for-thi thaet he uuoelde under-theden thaet mynstre to Clunie swa thaet te king was wel-neh bepaht and sende efter the muneces ; and thurh Godes milce and thurh te *biscop* of *Seresberi* and te *biscop* of *Lincoln* and te *othre* rice men the ther wæron tha wiste the kinge thaet he feorde mid swicdom : Tha he nan mor ne mihte tha uuoelde he that *his nef*schulde ben abbot in Burch, oc Christ hit ne uuoelde. Was hit noht swithe lang ther efter thaet te king sende efter him and dyde him gyuen up thaet abbot-rice of *Burch* and faren ut of lande : and te king iaf thaet abbot-rice an *Prior* of *S. Neod-Martin* was gehaten : he com on *S. Petres messe-dei* mid micel wurscipe into the minstre.

MCXXXV. On this gere for se king Henri ofer sæ æt te Lammasse ; and thaet other dei tha helui an slep in scip tha thestrede the dæi ouer all landes and uuard the sunne swilc als it uuare thre-*niht*-ald *mone*, an sterres abuten him at mid-dæi. Wurthen men swithe of-wundred and

of-dred and sæden thæt micel thing sculde cumme her efter, —swa dide—for thæt ilc gær warth the king ded thæt other dæi efter *S. Andreas masse-dæg* on *Normandi*. Tha westre sona thas landes for æuric man sone ræuede other the mihte.\* Tha namen his sune and his frend and brohten his lic to *Engle-land* and bebiriend in *Reding*. God man he wes and micel æie wes of him; durste nan man mis-don with other on his time: Pais he makede men and dær: Wua sua bare his byrthen gold and silure durste nan man sei to him naht bute god. En-mang this was his *nefe* cumen to *Engle-land* *Stephne de Blais* and com to *Lundene*, and te Lundenisce folc him under-feng and senden efter the *Ærcebiscep Willelm Curbuil*, and halechede him to kinge on mide-wintre-dæi. On this kinges time wes al un-frith and yfel and ræflac, for agenes him risen sona tha rice men the wæron swikes. Al se fyrst *Balduin de Reduers* and held *Ere-cestre* agenes him and te king it besæt and siththan *Balduin* acordede. Tha tocan tha othre and hel-den her castles agenes him, and *David* king of *Scotland* toc to *Wessien*; [Wessington;] him tha tho-hwetere thæt here sandes feorden betwyx heom and hi togædere comen and wurthe sæhte thoth it litel for-stode.

\* “In altero autem anno et alio die post festivitatem *Sancti Petri* qui dicitur *ad vincula* rex *Henricus* mare transfretavit, et in navi sextâ hora obdormivit; et—*sicut* scriptum est—in pluribus locis subito illâ horâ cœli contenebrati sunt, et sol factus est quasi esset luna tribus vel quatuor *horis*, et stellæ apparuerunt: et plurimi dixerunt hoc portentum magnam rem significare; et verum dixerunt, quia eodem anno mortuus est rex, et conciderunt cum eo omnes senes et sapientes. Tunc contenebrata est terra, quia pax et veritas et justitia de terra ablatæ sunt.”—*Hugo*, pp. 75, 76.

MCXXXVII. This gær for the king *Stephne* ofer sæ to *Normandi* and ther wes under-fangen for-thi thæt hi wenden thæt he sculde ben alsuic alse the eom wes, and for he hadde get his tresor ; ac he to-deld it and scatered sotlice. Micel hadde *Henri* king gadered gold and syluer and na god ne dide me for his saule thar-of. Tha the king *Stephne* to *Engla-land* com tha macod he his gadering æt *Oxene-ford* and thar he nam the biscop *Roger* of *Seres-beri* and *Alexander* biscop of *Lincoln* and te *Canceler Roger* his neues and dide ælle in prisun til hi jafen up here castles. Tha the suikes under-gæton thæt he milde man and softe\* and god was, and na justise ne dide, tha diden hi alle wunder. Hi hadden him man-red maked and athes suoren ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden ; alle hi wæron forsworen and here treothes for-loren, for æuric rice man his castles makede and agænes him heolden and fylden the land full of castles. Hi suencten suithe the wrecce men of the land mid castel weorces. Tha the castles wæren maked tha fylden hi mid devules and yuele men : tha namen hi tha men the hi wenden thæt ani god hefden bathe be nihtes and be dæies—carl men and wimmen—and diden heom in prisun efter gold and syluer and pined heom un-tellendlice pining for ne wæren næure nan martyrs swa pined alse hi wæron. Me hanged up bi the fet and smoked heom mid ful smoke :

\* Surrexit post Henricum rex *Stephanus* nepos ejus *mitis et humilis*, et immerserunt super terram juvenes, viri iniqui et peccatores, qui conturbabant terram. In hujus regis tempore in maximis tribulationibus et angustiis erat sancta ecclesia per totam terram et *Ecclesia burgensis* cum aliis ; sed non proposuimus omnia mala quæ gerebantur modo scribere, quia *multi multa* scripserunt.—*Hugo*, p. 76.



Me hinged bi the thumbes, other bi the hefed, and hengen bryniges on her fet. Me dide cnotted strenges abuten here hæued and uurythen to thæt it gæde to the hæernes. Hi diden heom in quarterne thar nadres and snakes and pades wæron inne and drapen heom swa : sume hi diden in crucet-hus ; thæt is, in an ceste thæt was scort and nareu and un-dep, and dide scærpe stanes ther-inne and threngde the man thær-inne thæt hi bræcon alle the limes. In mani of the castles wæron lof and grim : that wæron sachenteges thæt *two* other *three* men hadden onoh to bæron onne : thæt was swa maced, thæt is fæstned to an beom and diden an scærp iren abuton tha mannes throte and his hals thæt he ne mihte no-widerwardes ne sitten ne lien ne slepen oc bæron al thet iren. Mani thusend hi drapen mid hungær : I ne canne and ne mai tellen alle the wundes ne alle the pines thæt hi diden wrecce men on this land ; and thæt lastede tha xix wintre wile *Stephne* was king and æure it was uuerse and uuerse. Hi læiden gældes on the tunes æureu wile and clepeden it *Tenserie* : tha the wrecce men ne hadden nan more to guien tha ræueden hi and brendon alle the tunes thet wel thu mihtes faren all a dæis fare sculdest thu neure finden man in tune sittende, ne land tiled. Tha was corn dære and flec and cæse and butere for nan ne wæs o the land. Wrecce men sturuen of hungær : Sume ieden on ælmes the waren sum wile rice men : sum flugen ut of lande. Wes næure gæt mare wrecce-hed on land ne næure he then men werse ne diden than hi diden,—for, ouer sithon ne for-baren he nouthen circe ne cyrce-iærd oc nam al the god thet thar-inne was, and brenden sythen the cyrce and altegædere. Ne hi ne for-baren biscopes land ne abbotes ne preostes, ac ræueden muneces and clerekes and æuric man other the ouer myhte. Gif *two* men

other thre coman ridend to an tun al the tun-scipe flugæn for heom;—wenden thet hi wæron ræueres. The biscopes and lered men heom cursede æure oc wæs heom naht thar-of, for hi wæron all for-cursæd and for-suoren and for-loren. Was sæ me tilede: the *erde* ne bar nan corn for the land was all for-don mid suilce dædes; and hi sæden openlice thet *Crist slep and his halechen*. Suile and mare thanne we cunnen sæin we tholenden xix wintre for ure sinnes: on al this yuele time heold *Martin* abbot his abbot-rice xx winter and half gær and viii dæis, (mid micel suinc,) and fand the muneces and te gastes al thet heom behoued, and heold mycel carited in the\* hus and (thoth-wethere) wrohte on the *circe*, and sette thar-to landes and rentes and goded it suythe and læt it refen; and brohte heom into the newæ mynstre on S. Petres mæsse-dæi mid micel wurt-scipe; thet was anno *ab incarnatione Dom.* m<sup>c</sup>xl, a combustione loci xxiii. And he for to Rome and thær wæs wæl under-fangen fram the Pape Eugenie and begæt thare† priuilegies,‡ an of alle

\* *The* is here *first* spelt in three letters without the *theta*.

† *t. h. ure*: the disuse of the *theta* is afterwards common.

‡ This was a curious affair: *Martin* produced before the Pope, for confirmation, the charter called *Agatho's*, but which was really forged by Remaldus. His Holiness knew not what to make of it, and it seems the Latin version was then called for, which is much more reasonable in its powers than the other. *Eugenius* refused, however, to confirm it, and granted a new one, which is still less exorbitant; "moved thereto," says *Hugo*, "by one of the Cardinals, who persuaded him not to give the honour of his name to the charter of a former Pope."

the landes of th' abbot-ricc, and *an other* of the landes the lien to the circewican; *und gif he leng moste liuen alse he mint to don of the horder-wycan.\** And he begæt-in landes thæt rice men hefden mid strengthe: of *Willelm Malduit* the heold *Rogingham* thæ castel, he wan *Cotingham* and *Estren*; and of *Hugo* of *Walteuile* he wan *Hyrtlingburh* and *Stanewig* and lx sol. of *Alde-wingle* ælc gær: and he makede manie munekes and plantede win-iærd and makede manie weorkes and wende the tun betere than it ær wæs; and was god monuc and god man and for-thi him luueden God and gode men. Nu we willen sægen sum del wat belamp on Stephnes kinges time: On his time the Iudeus of Norwic bohton an cristen cild beforen *Estren* and pineden him alle the ilce pining thet ure Drihten was pined, and on Lang-fridæi him on Rode hengen for ure Drihtnes luue and sythen byrieden him: Wenden thet it sculde ben for-holen oc ure Drihtin atywde thet he was hali Martyr and te munekes him namen and bebyried him heglice in the mynstre and he maket thur ure Drihtin wunderlice and manifældlice miracles, and hatte he *S. Willelm*.

MCXL. On this gær wolde the king Stephne tæcen Rodbert eorl of Gloucestre (the kinfges sune Henries) ac he ne myhte for he wart it war: Ther-efter in the Lengen thestrede the sunne and te dæi abuton non-tid dæies tha men eten, thet me lihtede candles to æten bi: and thet was xiii kl. April;—Wæron men suythe of-wundred. Ther efter ford-feorde *Willelm* ærcebiscop of *Cantwarbyrig*, and te king makede *Teobald* ærcebiscop the was abbot in

\* "And if he had lived a little longer, he would have got another charter confirming the *Secretary's* land," i. e. the lands in the Secretary's (*Hugo's*) management.

the *Bec.*—Ther efter wæx suythe micel uuerre betwyx the king and Randolf eorl of Cæstre, noht for-thi thet he ne iaf him al thet he cuthe axen him, (alse he dide alle othre,) oc æfre he mare he iaf heom the wæse hi wæron him. The eorl heold Lincol agænes the king and benam him al thet he ahte to hauen; and te king for thider and besætte him and his brother Willelm de Romare in the castel, and te eorl stæl ut and ferde efter Rodbert eorl of Gloucestre and broht him thider mid micel ferd: And fuhten swythe on Candelmasse-dæi agenes heore lauerd, and namen him (for his men him suyken and flugæn) and læd him to Bristowe and diden thar in prisun and cuarteres. Tha was al Engla-land styred mar than ær wæs and al yuel wæs in lande. Ther-efter com the kinges dōhter (Henries) the hefde ben *Emperic* on *Alamanie* and nu wæs *Cuntesse* in *Angou* and com to Lundene; and te Lundenisse fole hire wolde tæcen, and scæ fleh and for-les thas micel. Ther-efter the biscop of Wincester *Henri*, the kinges brother Steph-nes, swac with *Rodbert* eorl and wyd *themperice* and swor heom athas thet he neure ma mid te king his brother wolde halden, and cursede alle the men the mid him heoldon and sæide heom thet he wolde iuuen heom up Wincestre, and dide heom cumen thider. Tha hi thær-inne wæren tha com the kinges cuen mid al hire strengthe and besæt heom, thet ther wæs inne micel hungær: Tha hi ne leng ne muhten tholen tha stali hi ut and flugen, and *hi* wurthen war *withuten* and folecheden heom and namen *Rodbert* eorl of *Gloucestre* and ledden him to *Roucestre*, and diden him thare in prisun, and te Empe-ric fleh into an minstre. Tha feorden tha wise men betwyx, the kinges freond and te eorles freond, and sahtlede sua thet me sculde leten ut the king of prisun for the eorl and te eorl for the king,—and sua

diden. Sithen ther-efter sahtleden the king and *Randolf* eorl at *Stanford* and athes suoren and treuthes fæston thet her nouthur sculde besuyken other; and it ne for-stod naht for the king him sithen nam in *Hamtun* thurhe wicci ræd and dide him in prisun, and efsones he let him ut thurhe wæse red, to thet forewarde thet he suor on halidom and gisles fand thet he alle his castles sculde iuen up: sume he iaf up, and sume ne iaf he noht, and dide thanne wæse thanne he ær sculde. Tha was Engle-land suithe todeled; sume helden mid te *king* and sume mid *themperice*; for tha the king was in prisun tha wenden the eorles and te rice men thet he neure mare sculde cumme ut, and sahtleden wyd *themperice* and brohten hire into *Orenford* and iauen hire the Burch. Tha the king was ute tha herde thet sægen, and toc his feord and besæt hire in the Tur; and me læt hire dun on niht of the tur mid rapes and stal ut, and scæ fleh and iæde on fote to *Walingford*: Thær-efter scæ ferde ofer sæ, and hi of Normandi wenden alle fra the king to the eorl of *Angæu*, sume here thankses and sume here un-thankses for he besæt heom til hi aiauen up here castles and hi nan helpe ne hæfden of the king. Tha ferde *Eustace* the kinges sune to France and nam the kinges *suster* of France to wife;—wende to bigæton Normandi thær-thurh oc he spedde litel and be gode rihte for he was an yuel man, for ware se he wes dide mare yuel than god: he reuede the landes and læide micel gildes on: he brohte his wif to Engle-land and dide hire in the castele of . . . te-byrig: god wimman scæ wæs oc scæ hedde litel blisse mid him, and Xrist ne wolde thet he sculde lange rixan, and wærth ded and his moder, beien; and te eorl of *Angæu* wærth ded and his sune *Henri* toc to the rice. And te cuen of France to-dælde fra the king and scæ com to

the iunge eorl Henri and he toc hire to wiue and al Peitou mid hire. Tha ferde he mid micel færd into Engle-land and wan castles, and te king ferde agenes him mid micel mare ferd, and thoth wæthere fuhten hi noht, oc ferden the ærcebiscop and te wise men betwux heom and makede thet sǣhte thet te king sculde ben lauerd and king wile he liuede and æfter his dæi ware Henri king ; and he helde him for fader, and he him for sune ; and sib and sǣhte sculde ben betwyx heom and on al Engle-land. This and te othre foruuardes thet hi makeden suoren to halden the king and te eorl and te biscop and te eorles and rice-men alle. Tha was the eorl under-fangen æt *Wincestre* and æt *Lundene* mid micel wurtscipe, and alle diden him man-red and suoren the pais to halden : and hit ward sone suite the god pais sua thet neure was here : Tha was the king strengere thanne he æuer ther was ; and te Eorl ferde ouer sæ, and al folc him luuede for he dide god justise and makede pais.

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I CANNOT but anticipate with pleasure that *Elfric* and *Wulstan* will henceforth be intimately known, for we have here the best means of information; their own *fresh* and *free* communications, delivered at large and without disguise.

*Stigand* is another great man of antiquity; of different habits perhaps, but no less interesting. The worst that is *certainly* known of him is, that he was a *politician*; and it is worth while to compare *these* his writings with the slanders of our Latin historians.

Remaldus' extracts from *his* book are sometimes extremely full and valuable, as has been shown in the four years inserted to elucidate *Wulstan*. The orthography also is ancient and uniform, (much more so than in the *Tiberius B. I.*) so that it is plain he had a good copy.

To show that he made a poor use of it we may refer to such of his *omissions* as are preserved in the last-mentioned copy; and *that*



contains a few years only wherein *Wulstan's* book was deficient.

But his mutilations of the *Peterborough Records* were much more reprehensible than in this case of Stigand's, as we shall afterwards endeavour to show.

The annumeration of the years in the follow-piece is, generally, as in the *Domitian*, for the *Laud* is full of errors; indeed the confusion of dates in the different copies has led Mr. Ingram to make more than one article of the events of one year, as in 1046. I have not done this, though I have not lost sight of his reckoning.

In this section the mark <sup>(a)</sup> signifies that the clause is taken from the *Laud*; <sup>(b)</sup> from the *Domitian*; <sup>(c)</sup> from the *Tiberius B. I.*; <sup>(z)</sup> signifies that the clause is, or appears to be, an interpolation.

## REMAINS OF STIGAND'S ANNALS.

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MXVII. Her *Eadric* ealdorman wearth of-slagen on *Lundene* [swythe rihtlice <sup>(b)</sup>]: and *Cnut* cyning aflymde ut *Eadwig* ætheling [and æfter hine het of-slean.<sup>(c)</sup>]

MXVIII. Her *Æthelsige* abbot forthferde on Abbandune and feng *Æthelwine* to. <sup>(a)</sup>

MXIX. Her on thissum gear e forthferde *Lyfing* arcebis-cop and *Cnut* cyning com eft to Engla-lande: And tha on Eastron wæs mycel gemot æt *Cyring-ceastre*; tha ge-utlagode man *Æthelweard* ealdorman [and *Eadwig* ceorla cyng <sup>(e)</sup>]: [And on thisum gear for *se cyng* to *Assandune*, and let timbrian thar an mynster of stane and lime for thare manna sawle the thar of-slagene wæran and gief hit his anum preoste <sup>(a)</sup> <sup>(b)</sup>] [thas nama was *Stigand* <sup>(b)</sup> <sup>(z)</sup>]: And *Æthelnoth* munuc and decanus æt *Xpes Cyrcan* wæs the ylcan gear thær-to gehadod to biscep [fram *Wulstane* arcebiscope. <sup>(a)</sup>]

MXII. Her *Æthelnoth* arcebiscep for to Rome \* \* \* [and he syththan mid tham *Pallium* thær mæssode swa

se *papa* him ge-wissode : and he hine ge-reordade æfter tham mid tham papan ; and syththan mid fulre bletsunge ham-gewende. (a) ]

xxxiii. [Her *Cnut* cyning com eft to Engle-lande, and Thurcyl and he wæron anræde : and he betæhte Thurcylle *Denemearcon* and his *sunu* to healdenne : And se cyng nam Thurcylles sunu mid him to Engle-lande. (c) ] And her forthferde *Wulfstan* arcebiscop and feng *Ælfric* to, [and *Ægelnoth* arcebiscop hine bletsode on Cant-war-biri (b) ] : And thæs ylcan gearas *Æthelnoth* arcebiscop ferede sce *Ælfeges* arcebiscopas [lichaman (b) ] to *Cant-war-byrig*.

xxxv. [Her for *Cnut* cyng to *Denmearcon* mid scipon to tham *Holme* æt *Ea thære halgan* ; and thær comon ongean *Ulf* and *Eglaf* and swithe mycel here ægther ge land-here ge scip-here of *Swa-theode* : and thær wæs swythe feala manna for-faren on *Cnutes* cynges healfe, ægther ge *Deniscra* manna ge *Engliscra* ; and tha *Sweon* hæfdon wæl-stowe geweald. (c) ]

xxxix. [Her wæs *Olaf* cyng of-slagen on *Norwægon* of his agenum folce, and wæs syththan halig : and thæs geres ær tham for-ferde *Hacum* se dohtiga eorl on sæ. (c) ]

xxxxi. [Her for *Cnut* cyng to *Rome* and thy ilcan geara tha hi ham com tha for he to Scotlande : and *Scotta* cyng him to beah *Mælcorm* and twegen othere cyningas *Mælbathe* and *Jehmarc* (a) (b) ] [and *Rodbert* eorl of *Normandie* ferde to *Jerusalem* and thar wearth dead (obiit in peregrinatione) and *Willelm* the was siththan cing on Engle-lande feng to Normandi theh he cild wære. (b) (z) ]

xxxxii. [Her on thissum geara at-ywde thæt *wilde-fyr* the nan man æror nan other swylc ne gemunde : and gehwær hit derode eac on manegum stowum. And on tham ylcan geara forthferde *Ælfsige* biscop on

*Winceastre*, and *Ælfoine* thæs cynges preost feng thær-to. (a)]

xxxxiii. Her on thisum geare forth-ferde *Merehwit* bisceop on *Sumersæton* and he is bebyrged on *Glestinga-byrig*. (a) (b)

xxxxiv. Her forthferde *Etheric* biscop (a) (b)

xxxxv. Nil.

xxxxvi. *Vide* pp. 299, 300.

xxxxvii. Her man dræfde ut *Ælfgife* Cnutes cinges lafe: seo wæs *Eadwardes* and *Hardacnutes* cinges *modor*. And heo gesohte tha *Baldeuines* grith be suthan sæ, and he geaf hire wununge on *Bricge*, and he hi mundode and heold tha hwile the heo thær wæs. (a) (b)

xxxxviii. Her forthferde *Æthelnoth* arcebiscop on *kl. Nouemb.*; and thæs ymbe lytel *Æthelric* biscop on *Suth-searum*; and tha to-foran Xpes-mæssan *Brihteh* biscop on *Wigra-ceaster-scire*; and, rathe thæs, *Ælfric* biscop on *East-Englum*. And tha feng *Eodsige*\* biscop to tham arcebiscoprice, and *Grymcytel* to tham on *Suth-Serum*, and *Liuing* biscop to *Wigraceaster-scire* and to *Gleawe-ceaster-scire*. (a) (b)

xxxxix. Her ferthferde *Harold* cyng or *Orna-forda* on xvi *kl. Apr.* and he wæs bebyrged æt *Westmynstre*. And he weold Engla-landes iv gear and xvi wucan. And on his dagum man geald xvi scipan æt ælcere hamulan viii marc,—eall-swa man ær dyde on *Cnutes* cynges dagum. And on this ylcan geare com *Hardacnut* cyng to *Sandwic* vii nihtum ær *middan-sumera*; and he wæs sona underfangen ægther ge fram *Englum* ge fram *Demum* (theh he his rædes-menn hit syththon strange for-guldon): Tha hi geræddon thet man gealde lxii scipon æt ælcere

\* Thes cinges preost. *Domit*.

hamelan viii marc. And on this ilcan geare eode se sæster-hwætes to lv penega, and eac furthor. (a) (b)

MXL. Her *Eadsige* arcebiscop for to Rome. Her wæs that here-geold ge-læst : that wæron xxi thusend punda and xcix punda : and man geald syththan xxxii scipon xi thusend punda and xlviii punda. And on this ilcan geare com *Eadward* Æthelredes sunu cinges hider to lande of *Weallande* : [Se wæs *Hardacnutes* brothor cynges, —hi wæron begen *Ælfgiues* suna,—seo wæs *Ricardes* dohtor eorles. (a) (b) (z)]

MXLI. Her forthferde *Harthacnut* cyng æt *Lamb-hythe* on vi id. Jun. : and he wæs cyng ofer eall Engla-land twa gear buton x nihtum, and he is bebyrged on *caldan* mynstre on *Winceastre* mid *Cnute* cynge hic fæder : [And his moder for his sawle gief into *nisan*-mynstre *S. Valentines* heafod thas martires. (b) (s)] And ær than the he bebyrged wære eall folc geceas *Eadward* to cynge on *Lundene* [healde tha hwile the him God unne. (b) (s)] And eall that gear wæs swythe hefig time on manegum thingum and mislicum, ge on unwæderum ge on eorth-wæstmum ; and swa mycel orfes wæs thæs geares for-faren swa nan man ær ne gemunde. (a)

MXLII. Her wæs *Eadward* gehalgod to cynge on *Winceastre* on Easter-dæg mid mycclum wurthscipe : and tha wæron *Eastron* on iii non. Apr. *Eadsige* arce-biscop hine halgode and to-foran eallum folce hine wel-lærnde and to his agenre neode and ealles folces well-monude : and *Stigand* preost wæs gebletsod to biscope to *East-Englum*. And rathe thæs se cyng let ge-ridan ealle tha land the his modor ahte him to handa and nam of hine eall that heo ahte on golde and on seolfre and on unascegendlicum thingum forthan heo hit heold to fæste with hine. (a) (c)

MXLIII.\* Her *Eadsige* arcebiscop forlet thet biscoprice for his untrumnisse and bletsode thær-to *Siward* abbot of *Abbandune* to biscope be thæs cynges læfe and ræda and *Godwines* eorles. Hit wæs elles feawum mannum cuth ær hit gedon wæs forthan se *Arcebiscop* wende thæt hit sum other man abiddan wolde oththe gebicgean the he his wurs truwude and uthe gif hit ma manna wiste. And on thisum geare wæs swythe mycel hungor ofer eal *Engla-land* and corn swa dyre swa nan man ær ne gemunde swa thæt se sester hwætes eode to lx penega and eac furthor. And thæs ylcan geares se cyng for ut to *Sandwic* mid xxxv scipon : and *Æthelstan* cyrice-weard feng to tham abbotrice æt *Abbandune* and *Stigand* feng to his biscoprice.<sup>(a)</sup>

MXLIV.† Her nam *Eadward* cyng *Godwines dohtor* eorles him to cwene. And on this ylcan geare forthferde *Brihtwold* biscop [on x kl. Mai:<sup>(c)</sup>] and he heold thæs biscop-rices xxxvii wintra : (thæt wæs thæt biscoprice of Scireburn) : and Hereman thæs cynges preost feng to tham biscoprice. [And on than ylcan sumera for *Eadward* cyng ut mid his scypan to *Sandwic* : and thar wæs swa mycel here gegæderod swa nan man ne ge-seh scyp-here nænne maran on thyson lande.<sup>(c)</sup>] [And on thissum geare man halgode *Wulfric* to abbot æt Sce Augustine to Xpes-mæssan on *Stephanes-mæsse-dæg* be thes cynges gelæfan and be *Ælfstanes* abbotes for his micelre untrum-nysse.<sup>(a)</sup>]

MXLV.‡ Her forthferde Lifing biscop on Defena-scire [on xiii kl. Apr.<sup>(c)</sup>] and Leofric feng thærto : Se wæs thæs cynges preost : And on thissum geare forthferde

\* MXLIII. in the *Laud* also.

† MXLIII. *Laud*. MXLV. *Tib. B. I.*

‡ MXLIV. *Laud* : MXLVI. *Tib. B. I.* : and *Mr. Ing.*

MXLVI.

*Ælfstan* abbot æt *Sce Augustine*, iii [ ] *Julii*. [And on this ilcan geare for *Swoegen* eorl into Wealan, and *Griffin* se northerna cyng forth mid him, and him man gislode : Tha he ham-werdes was tha het he seccan him-to tha *Abbedissan* on *Leomynstre*, and hæfde hi tha hwile the him ge-liste, and let hi syththan faran ham. And on this ylcan geare man ge-ut-lagode *Osgod Clappan* to middan-wintre. And on this ylcan geare æfter *Candel-mæssan* com se stranga winter mid forste and mid snawe and mid eallon ungewederon thæt næs nan man tha on-liue thæt mihte ge-munan swa strange winter swa se was ge thurh *man-cwealm* ge thurh *orf-cwealm* : ge fugelas and fixas thurh thone micelan cyle and hun-gor for-wurdon.<sup>(c)</sup>]

MXLVI.\* [Her on thisum geare forthferde *Grimcytel* bisceop : He was on *Suth-sexan* bisceop and he lith on *Cristes-cyrcan* on *Cant-wara-byrig*, and Eadward cyng geaf *Hecan* his preost thæt bisceoprice. And on this ylcan geare forthferde *Ælfwine* bisceop on Winceastre on iii kl. *Septemb.* and Eadward cyng geaf *Stigande* bisceop thæt bisceoprice.<sup>(c)</sup>] [And on tham ylcan geare ferde *Swoegen* eorl ut to *Baldewines* land to *Brycge* and wunode thær ealne winter, and wende tha to sumere ut.<sup>(a)</sup>] [And was ofer eall Engla-land swithe micel man-cwelme on than ilcan geare.<sup>(c)</sup>]

MXLVII.† Her forthferde *Æthelstan* abbot on *Abbandune* and feng *Spearhafoc* munuc to—of *Sce Edmundes-byrig*. [And on this ylcan geare was micel eorh-styrung wide on Engla-land.<sup>(c)</sup>] [And on this ylcan geare com on *Sandwic* Lothen and Yrling mid xxv scipon and hergodon

\* MXLV. *Laud* : MXLVII. *Tib. B. I.* : and *Mr. Ingram* MXLVII.

† MXLVI. *Laud* : MXLVIII. *Tib. B. I.* : *Mr. Ingram* MXLVII.

and namon thær unasecgendlic here-huthe on mannum and on golde and on seolfre thet nan man nyste hwæt thes ealles wæs; and wendon tha on butan *Tenet*, and woldon thær thæt ilce don ac thet land-folc hardlice withstodon, and for-werndon heom ægther ge up-ganges ge wæteres, and aflymdon hi thanon mid ealle: and hi wendon heom thanon to *East-Seaxan*, and hergodon thær and namon menn, and swa-hwæt-swa hi findan mihtan; and gewendon him tha east to *Baldewines* land and seal-don thær thet hi gehegod hæfdon; and ferdon heom syththan east thanon the hi ær comon.\*<sup>(a)</sup>] [And on tham ilcan geare *Siward* bisceop for-let thæt bisceoprice for his untrumnyse and for to *Abbandune*, and *Eadsige* arcebisceop feng eft to tham bisceoprice; and he† forthferde thæs binnan viii wucan on x *kl. Novembris*.<sup>(c)</sup>]

MXLVIII. *Vide pp.* 305, 6, 7.

MXLIX. [On thisum geare forthferde *Eadnoth* se gode bisceop on *Oxnaforðscire* and Eadwerd cyng geaf *Ulf* his preoste thæt bisceoprice, and hit yfele beteah.<sup>(c)</sup>] [And on thison ilcan geare wæs micel gemot on Lundene to mid-festene:<sup>(a)</sup>] [and Eadwerd cyng scylode ix scypa of male, and hi foron mid scypon mid eallon an-weg and belifon v scypa bæftan:† and se cyng heom behet xii monath gyld.<sup>(c)</sup>] [And on thisum ylcan geare com *Suegen* eorl into Engla-land: and on thisum ylcan geare

\* The account in the *Tiber*. (Anno 1047) is something different: "Man gehegode *Sandwic* and *Wiht*, and of-slohan tha betsta men the thar wæron: and Eadward cining and tha eorlas foran, æfter-tham, ut mid heora scipum."

† i. e. *Siward*, *Laud* 1046, *Siward* biscop forthferde.

† "And man sette ut ix lits-manna scipa, and fif belifan with-æftan."—*Laud*.



wæs se mycele *Synoth* gegaderod on *Rome*, and Eadward cyng sende thyder *Hereman* biscop and *Ealdred* biscop; and hi comon thyder on Easter-æfen: and eft se *papa* hæfde *Sinoth* on *Uercel*, and *Ulf* biscop com thæto; and for-neah man sceolde to-bræcan his stæf gif he ne sealde the mare gersuman forthan he ne cuthe don his gerihte swa wel swa he sceolde. (\*)]

ML. *Vide pp. 307 et. subseq.* The copy *Tiberius* shortly mentions other particulars this year,\* and is as follows:—

Her on thysum geare comon tha *bisceopas* ham from *Rome*: and man ge-in-lagode *Swegen* eorl. And on thy ylcan geare forth-ferde *Eadsige* arcebisceop on *iiii kl. Nov.*; and eac on thys ylcan geare *Ælfric* arcebisceop on *Eofer-wic-ceastre* on *xi kl. Febr.* and his lichama lith on *Burh*. Tha hæfde Eadwerd cyng witenagemot on *Lundene* to mid-lencen, and sette *Hrodberd* to arcebisceop to *Cantware-byrig*, and *Sper-hafoc* abbot to *Lundene*; and geaf *Rothulfe* bisceop his mæge thæt *Abbudrice* on *Abbandune*: and thæs ylcan geares he sette ealle tha litsmen of male.

MLI. *Vide pp. 313 et subseq.* In the copy *Domitian*, *Stigand* is described as “thæs cinges ræd-gifa and his hand-preost:” “*Consiliator regis et Capellanus.*” The article is abridged about one half.

MLII. In the *Laud* and *Domit.* the account of *Godwin's* death is taken from *Wulstan's Annals*. The accounts of his sickness (included in brackets, pp. 318 and 19,) and death, (p. 320,) are probably *Stigand's*.

MLIII. [Her for *Siward* eorl mid mycclum here into *Scotlande* and mycel wæl of *Scottum* ge-sloh, and hig aflymde: and se cyng æt-bærst: eac feoll mycel on his

\* i. e. from 25 March, 1050, to 25 March, 1051.

healfe ægther ge *Densce* ge *Englisc*e and eac his agen sunu. Thæs ylcan geares man halgode thæt mynstre on *Eofes-humme* on vi id. *Octobris*. On tham ylcan geare ferde *Ealdred* biscop suth ofer sæ into *Sexlande* and wearth thær mid mycelre ar-wurthnesse under-fangen. Thy ilcan geare swealt *Osgod Clapa* færinga swa swa he on his reste læg.<sup>(c)</sup>] [And her on thisum geare forth ferde *Leo* se halga *Papa* on *Rome*. And on thisum geare wæs swa mycel orf-cwealm swa nan man ne gemunde fela wintrum ær. And *Victor* wæs gecoren to *Papan*.<sup>(a)</sup>]

MLIV. Her on thisum geare forth-ferde *Siward* eorl : and tha bead man ealre witenas gemot vii nihton ær mid-lencene and ut-lagode man *Ælfgar* eorl forthon him man wearp on thæt he wæs thes cynges *swica* and ealra land-leoda ; and he thæs gean-wyrde wes æt-foren eallum tham mapnum the thær gegaderode wæron,—theah him thæt word of-scute his unthances. And se cyng geaf thone eorldom *Tostige* Godwines sunu eorles the *Siward* eorl ær ahte. And *Ælfgar* eorl gesohte *Griffines* geheald on *North-Wealan* : And on thisum geare *Griffin* and *Ælfgar* for-bærndon sce *Æthelbrihtes* mynster and ealle tha Burh *Hereford*.<sup>(a)</sup>

MLV. Nil.

MLVI. Her on thisum geare com *Ædward Ætheling* Eadmundes sunu cynges hyder to lande ; and sona thæs gefor : and his lic is bebyrged innon scs *Paulus* mynstre on *Lundene*. And *Victor* *Papa* forth-ferde and wæs *Stephanus* gecoren to *Papan* : Se wæs abbot on *Monte-Casino*.\*

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\* Here ends the copy *Domitianus, A. VIII.*

MLXI. Her on thisum geare forth ferde *Dudoc* biscop on *Sumarsæton* and feng *Gisa* to. And on tham ilcan geare forthferde *Godwine* biscop æt sce *Martine* on *vii idus Mr.* And on tham sylfan geare forthferde *Wulfric* abbot æt sce *Augustine* innon thære Easter-wucan on *xiv kl Mai.*\* Tha com tham cyng word thæt se abbot *Wulfric* forth-gefaren wæs, tha ge-ceas he *Æthelrige* munuc thær-to of ealdon Mynstre. Folgode tha *Stigande* arce-biscope and wearth gehalgod to abbot æt *Windlesoran* on scs Angustinus mæsse-dæg. (a)

\* Vide *Wulstan's Ann.*

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Inasmuch as Remaldus made up his book from the writings of *Elfric*, *Stigand*, *St. Wulstan*, and *Nicholas*, his *theft* is pardonable for the sake of the history preserved, that is, of *Stigand's* and *Nicholas'*; the *others* are preserved elsewhere, and are miserably abridged.

But in writing from the *Peterborough Records after Elfric's time* he permitted himself every kind of licence, as we may well conclude without sight of the originals. *One article only*, that of 1085, is inserted entire; in the rest truth and falsehood are wholly indistinct; in every sentence there is matter of doubt.

The *excepted* article appears to be the prior *Athelwold's*; it contains a more indignant notice of the *Domesday* survey than *Wulstan's* in 1086, and was written at *Peterborough*, because the writer says an account was taken of the live stock, (which *Wulstan* does not). In fact, the *stock* is invariably *taken* in the survey of *East Anglia*, and invariably *omitted* in the other parts of the kingdom.

MLXXXV. On thisum geare men cwydodon and tosothan sædan thæt Cnut cyng of Denmeurcon, Swægnes

*sunu cynges*, fundade hider-ward, and wolde gewinnan this land mid *Rodbeardes* eorles sultume of *Flandran* : for- than the *Cnut* heafde *Rodbeardes* dohter. Tha *Willelm* Engla-landes *cyng* the tha wæs sittende on *Normandige* —for-thig he ahte ægther ge-*Engla-land* ge-*Normundig*— this geaxode, he ferde into *Engla-lande* mid swa micclan here ridendra manna and gangendra of *Franc-rice* and of *Bryt-lande* swa næfre ær this lande ne ge-soht ; swa thæt men wundredon hu this lande mihte ealle thone here afedan : Ac ce *cyng* let to-scyfton thone here geond eall this land to his mannon ; and hi fæddon thone here ælc be his land efne : And men heafdon mycel ge-swinc thæs geares.\* And se *cyng* lett aweston thæt land abutan tha sæ thet gif his feond comon upp thæt he næfdon na on hwam hi fengon swa rædlice ; and ne mihten na geforthian heora fore. Tha lett he sum thone here faren to heora agene lande and sum he heold on thisum lande ofer winter. Tha, to tham mīde-wintre, wæs se *cyng* on *Gleawe-ceastre* mid his witan and heold thær his hired v. dagas : and siththan se arcebisceop and ge-hadde men hæfden si- noth threo dagas. Thær wæs *Mauricius* ge-eoren to biscop on *Lundene*, and *Willelm* to *Northfolce*, and *Rodbeard* to

\* Habebat Wulstanus in curiâ suâ milites multos, non quò voluptati esset ant ejus blandiretur animo frequens Servientium multitudo nec enim in corde parturiebat jac- tantiam si haberet multorum obsequelam, sed Rex Williel- mus ita fieri præceperat quòd sereretur rumor in vulgus Danos adventare et jam jamque adfore : (Nec a vero deviat opinio ; venissentque proculdubio nisi aliæ res intercessissent : Causam minarum et obicem impedin- torum in gestis Regum Anglorum exposui ; quæ ibi si quis volet amicus Lector inveniet.)" &c.—*Malmesb. Vit. S. Wulst.* iii. 16.

*Ceaster scire* : hi wæron ealle thæs cynges clerecas. Æfter thisum hæfde se cyng mycel getheaht and swithe deope spæce with his witan ymbe this land hu hit wære gerett oththe mid hwilcan mannon. Sende tha ofer eall Engla-land into ælcere scire his men, and lett agan ut hu fela hundred hyda wæron innon thære scire, oththe hwet se cyng him-sylf hæfde landes and orfes innan tham lande, oththe hwilce gerihtæ he ahte to habbane to xii. monthum of thære scire. Eac he lett gewritan hu mycel landes his arcebiscopas hæfdon, and his leod-biscopas and his abbotas, and his eorlas; and theah ic hit lengre telle—hwat oththe hu mycel ælc man hæfde the land-sittende wæs innan Engla-lande on lande oththe on orfe, and hu mycel feos hit weare wurth. Swa swythe nearwelice he hit let ut-aspurian that næs an ælpig hyde, ne an gyrde landes—ne furthor (hit is sceame to tellanne ac hit ne thuhte him nane sceame to donne)—an oxe ne an cu ne an swin, næs belyon that næs geræt on his gewrite,\* and ealle tha gewrita wæron gebroht to him sythan.

\* The precise time then, (hitherto disputed,) when this famous survey was resolved upon, was between Christmas 1084 and Easter 1085. I suppose *Wulstan* may have shortly mentioned the subject, though *Athelwold's* account was preferred. The nation has, of late years, published a splendid edition of *Domesday Book*—the result of this survey. It was always a monument of tyranny; and, if we may believe *Ingulfus*, of the commissioners' injustice also, for he says they favoured *him*.

One of the commissioner's returns is preserved in *Cotton's Library* which recites the writ for the inquisition whereby it appears *that they were to inquire*—

“ Per sacramentum vicecomitis Sciræ et omnium ba-

ronum et eorum francigenarum et totius Centuriatūs presbyteri, præpositi, vi, villanorum *Uniuscujusque Villæ* quomodo," &c. "Upon the oaths (according to the editor's translation) of the lords of each manor, the presbyters of every church, the reeves of every hundred, the bailiffs and six villans of every village :—1. The name of the place ; 2. Who held it in the time of King Edward ; 3. Who was the present possessor ; 4. How many hides in the manor ; 5. How many carucates in demesne ; 6. How many homagers ; 7. How many villans ; 8. How many cottarii ; 9. How many servi ; 10. What free men ; 11. How many tenants in socage ; 12. What quantity of wood ; 13. How much meadow and pasture ; 14. What mills and fish-ponds ; 15. How much added or taken away ; 16. What the gross value in King Edward's time ; 17. What the present value ; 18. How much each free-man or socman had or has.

"All this was to be triply estimated :—1st. As the estate was held in the time of the Confessor ; 2ndly. As it was bestowed by King William ; and 3rdly. As its value stood at the formation of the survey. And the jurors were moreover to state whether any advance could be made in the value."

What little true history there may be in the following section seems to be *Athelwold's*, except the years 1114 and 1116, which are either *Witric's* or were originally written by Remaldus.

Some mention has already been made of *Athelwold*; of *Witric* we know nothing, except that Hugo reports a common saying of his—"that he could do nothing without his partner Remaldus."

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MXLII. \* \* \* ægther ge thurh mistlice cotha ge thurh ungewyderu and on this ilcan time forthferde *Ælf* . . . . abbot of Burh and man ceas tha *Arnwi* munec to abb. forthan the he wæs swythe god man and swithe bilehwit.

MLII. On this ylcan tyme for-let *Arnwi* abbot of *Burh* his abbot-rice, be his halre life: and geaf hit *Leofric* munec, be thes cynges leafe and be thære *muneces*; and se abbot *Arnwi* lifode syththon VIII wintre. And se abbot *Leofric* gildede that mynstre swa that man hit cleopede tha *Gildene-Burh*. Tha wæx hit swithe on land and on golde and on seolfer.\*

\* "Aernwy le simple \* \* \*  
 \* \* VIII auns devaunt sa mort  
 Le Aboie ad lassé;  
 En sun liu est Leuriz  
 Chosi a Abbé



MLXVI. \* \* \* \* And tha wæs *Leofric* abbot of *Burh* æt thæt ilca feord; and sæclode thær, and com *ham*, and wæs dæd sone thær-æfter on *alre-halgan-mæsse-niht*:\* God aie his saule! On his dæg wæs ealle blisse and ealle gode on *Burh*; and he wæs leaf eall folc: [swa

Cest esteit sage e saint

E tres-ben enseigné," &c.—*Remaldus*.

MLXVII. *Ernwinus* in prosperitate vitæ suæ voluntariè dimisit Abbatiam suam, viii postea feliciter vivens annos. Electus est pro eo, cum consensu regis et ipsius, ad ipsam ecclesiam regendam a tota congregatione *Pulcherimus Monachorum, Flos et Decus Abbatum*, *Leuricus Monachus*: Hic ex nobili progenie anglorum ortus, nobilior in moribus, nobilissimè rexit et ditavit Ecclesiam suam: et (*sicut scriptum est*) ornavit tempora sua usque ad consummationem vitæ. Hic multas terras et varia ornamenta ad honorem Ecclesiæ suæ adquisivit (&c.). Plus quàm ullus ante eum fecit, aut post eum facturus est, &c. —*Hugo*.

\* " Leuriz la nuit de tus seinz.

A sa fin alad :

Graunt fu le doil par Engeltere

Ke l'um pur li fesad.

Et en sun liu Brand a abbé

Tost est achoisi

Cil tres-ben le guvernad

Mes poi de tens vesqui," &c.

*Remaldus* then describes the sacking of the abbey in 1070. This (says he) was the completion of the first curse—

" Ore est parempli

Co ke li maufé

thæt se cyng geaf sce Peter and him thæt abbot-ricc on *Byrtune*, and se of *Couentre* thæt se eorl *Leofric* the *was* his eam ær hæfde macod, and se of *Crulande*, and se of *Thorneie*.\*] And he dyde swa mycel to-gode into thæt mynstre of *Burh* on golde and on seolfre and on scrud and on lande swa nefre nan othre ne dyde to-foren him ne nan æfter him. Tha wearth *Gildene-Burh* to *Wrecce-Burh*. Tha cusen tha munecas to abbot *Brand*, *Prouost*; forthan

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Dist à Eylric

Le moine bonuré," &c. &c.

"Ore est Gilden-Burch

A Chaitif-Burch turné," &c. &c.

"In illo exercitu fuit ipse *Leuricus* abbas et ibi infirmatus est, domumque reversus mortuus est *kal. Novemb.* in nocte solemnitatis omnium sanctorum multum lugentibus et flentibus tam monachis quam laicis, et vix inventus est aliquis qui eum in sepulchro poneret præ nimio dolore [&c. &c.]

"Abbate autem *Leurico*, sicut diximus mortuo, omnis congregatio elegerunt et constituerunt eodem anno pro eo abbatem *Brandonem*,—co-operatorem et adiutorem ejus in omnibus bonis rebus, qui maximas possessiones ipse et fratres ejus, sicut antea diximus, Deo et sancto Petro et monachis dederunt: Et miserunt eum ad *Edgarum Etheling* qui erat de semine regio, ut redderet ei abbatiam:—Quod, et libentissime fecit: Omnes enim putaverunt eum terram acquirere, et se regem facturum esse. Pro quâ re iratus est nimis contra eum *Willielmus*, jam inunctus rex. Et, facientibus amicis, dedit prædictus abbas xl marcas auri pro amicitia regis, et ut confirmaret omnes terras quas dederant ipse et fratres sui in scripto suo."—*Hugo*.

\* This is wholly false.

thæt he wæs swythe god man and swithe wis : and senden him *tha* to *Ædgar Ætheling* (forthan thet the land-folc wendon thæt *he* sceolde cyng to-wurthen) : and se Ætheling hit him geatte *tha* blithelice. *Tha* se cyng Willelm ge-hyrde *thæt* secgen, *tha* wearth he swythe wrath, and sæde *thæt se abbot him heafde for-segon*. *Tha* eodon gode men heom betwene and sahtloden heom, forthan thæt se abbot wæs godera manne : Geaf *tha* thone cyng xl marc goldes to sahtnysse : and *tha* lifede he litle hwyle thær-æfter—buton thry gear. Syththon comen ealle dræuednysse and ealle ifele to thone mynstre : God hit gemiltse.

MLXIX. \* \* \* \* And on thisum ilcan geare forthferde *Brand* Abbot of Burh on v. *kl. Decembr*.

MLXX. \* \* \* Æfter Lengten on tham ilcan geare com *Swoegn* cyng of *Denmarcon* into *Humbran* and thæt land-folc comen him ongear and grithedon with hine : wendon thæt he sceolde thet land ofer-gan : *Tha* comen into *Elig Cristien* *tha Densce* bisceop, and *Osbearn* eorl, and *tha Densca Hus-carles* mid heom : and thet Englisce folc of eall *tha feon-landes* comen to heom, wendon thæt hi sceoldon winnon eall thæt land. *Tha* herdon *tha muncas* of Burh sægen thæt heora agene men wolden hergon thone mynstre [thæt wæs *Hereward* and his genge : thæt wæs forthan thet hi herdon sæcgen thet se cyng heafde gyfen thæt abbot-rice an *Frencisce* abbot, *Turolde* wæs gehaten, and thæt he wæs swythe styrne man, and wæs comen *tha* into *Stanforde* mid ealle hise *frencisce* menn. *Tha* wæs thær an *cyrce-weard*, (*Yware* wæs gehaten), nam *tha*, be nihte, eall thet he mihte : thet wæron *Xpes* bec and *mæssa-hakeles* and *cantelcapas* and *reafes*, and swilce lites swa-hwat-swa he mihte : and ferde, *sona-æs-dæg*, to thone abbot *Turolde* and sægde him thet he sohte his grithe ; and cydde him *hu tha ut-lages* sceolden

*comen to Burh* : (thet he dyde eall be there *munece* ræde.) Tha, sona on morgen, comen ealle tha ut-laga mid fela scipe and woldon into tham mynstre; and tha munecas with-stoden thæt hi na mihton in-cumen : Tha lægdon hi fyr on, and for-bærndon ealle tha munece huses, and eall tha tun buton ane huse. Tha comen hi, thurh fyre, in æt Bolhithe geate, and tha munecas comen heom to-geanes, beaden heom grith; ac hi na rohten na thing:—Geodon into the mynstre,—clumben upp to the *halge rode*,—namen, tha, the kyne-helm of ure Drihtnes heafod (eall of smeot golde,)—namen tha thet fot-spure the wæs undernæthen his fote, (thet wæs ealle of read golde;)—Clumben upp to the stepel,—brohten dune thet hæcce the thær wæs be-hid, (hit wæs eall of golde and of seolfre;—hi namen thære twa gildene scrines, and ix seolferne : and hi namen fiftene mycele roden, ge of golde, ge of seolfre : hi namen thære swa mycele golde and seolfre and swa manega gersumas on sceat and on scrud and on bokes swa nan man ne mæi oðer tællen :—sægdon that hi hit dyden for thær mynstres holdscipe. Syththon geden heom to scipe;—ferden heom to Elig;—betæhtan *thær*, tha, ealla tha gærsume. Tha Denescæ men—(wændon thæt hi scoldon ofer-cumen tha frencisca menn)—tha to-drefodon ealle tha munecas; beleaf thær nan butan an munec, he wæs gehaten *Leof-wine Lange*, he læi seoc in tha *secre-man-in*. Tha com *Turolde* abbot and *æhte siðe twenti* frencisce men mid him, and ealle full-wernode. Tha he hider com, tha fand he for-bærnd with-innan and with-utan eall butan tha *Circe* ane. Tha wæron tha ut-lagas ealle on flote : wistan thæt he scolde hider cumen. This wæs don thæs dæges iv non. Junii. Tha tha twegen kyngas *Willelm* and *Swegn* wurthon sæht-lod tha ferdon tha Dænesca menn ut of *Elig* mid ealle tha forenspræcena gærsume and leoddon mid heom. Tha hi

comen on middeward the sæ tha com an mycel storm and to-dræfde ealle tha scipe thær tha gersumes wæron inne. Sume ferdon to *Norwæge*, sume to *Yrlande*, sume to *Danmærc*; and eall thæt thider com thæt wæs thone hæcce and sume scrine and sume roden and fela of tha othre gærsume and brohten hit to an cynges tun . . . hatte, and dyden hit eall tha in thone cyrcæ. Tha syththon thurh heora gemelest and thurh heora drunken-hed on an niht for-bærnde tha cyrcæ and eall thet thær-inne wæs. Thus wæs se mynstre of Burch for-bærnd and for-hergod: Æl-mihtig God hit gemiltse thurh his mycele mild-hertnesse. And thus se abbot *Turolð* com to *Burh* and tha munecas comen tha on-gean and dydan xpes theudom in thære cyrcæ thæt ær hæfde standen fulle seofeniht for-utan ælces cynnes riht. Tha herde *Ægelric* biscop thet gesecgon tha amansumede he ealle tha men tha thæt yfel dæde hæfden don.\*]

MXCVIII. Thisum geare *Turolð* abbot of *Burh* forth-ferde.†

\* For any thing that appears the passage within brackets may be wholly an invention of Remaldus: *Hugo*, in his history, has added another improbable incident, namely, that the secretary *Ywarus* took a journey to Denmark and recovered a good part of the treasure. See also p. 138.

† After *Thorold's* death in 1098 *William Rufus* held the abbey in his own hands as long as he lived. At length the monks (say *Remaldus* and *Hugo*) gave King *Henry* 300 silver marks for leave to choose an abbot, and chose *Godric*, brother of the abbot *Brand*. Very shortly afterwards, and before the election was confirmed, *Anselm* held the council in St. Paul's, mentioned this year in *Nicholas' annals*. *Godric* was one

MCII. On thisum ylcan geare on *Pentecosten-mæssan-wuce* tha coman *Theofas* sum of *Aluearnie*, sum of *France*, and sum of *Flandres* and breokan tha mynstre of *Burh*; and thær-inne namon mycel to-gode on golde and on seolfre: thet wæron roden and calicen and candel-sticcan.\*

MCIII. On thisum ylcan geare *Mathias* abbot of *Burh* forthferde: Se ne lyfode na leng tham an geare syththan he abbot wæs: Æfter sce *Michael*es mæssan on *xii kl. Novemb.* he wæs *mid Procession* under-fangan to abbot;

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of the abbots deprived, on pretence, as it seems, that his election was tainted with simony by the monks' gift to the king.

In the copy *Laud* the account of the robbery (a: 1102) immediately follows that of the council: of which council the Peterborough writer must have taken some notice. *Malmesbury* says, all the nine abbots were deprived because they had investiture of the king; there are different accounts, however.—See *Eadmer* (Vit. Ans.) *Flor. Wig.*, *Sim. Dun.*, *Gerv. Cant.*, and *Chron. Abb. Joh.*

\* “In tempore Abbatis Godrici venerunt *Latrunculi* in ebdomadâ Pentecostes *aliqui* de *Alemanniâ* *aliqui* de *Franciâ* *alii* de *Flandriâ*, et intraverunt per scalas in ecclesiam per fenestram quæ erat super altare *Philippi* et *Jacobi* et furati sunt magnam crucem auream de viginti marcis auri cum gemmis quæ erat super altare, et duos magnos calices cum patenis, et candelabra *Elfrici* archiepiscopi, omnia aurea: Et quando hæc acceperunt unus ex sociis eorum stetit cum evaginato gladio ad caput *Turici*, secretarii, ut si evigilaret eum interficeret.”—*Hugo*. [How was this known?]

and on tham ylcan dæge thes othres geares he wearth dead on *Gleaw-ceastre*, and thær bebyrged.\*

MCVII.\*\* And æt thes ylcan sythe on-mang tha oththre the abbot-rices under-fengon *Ernulf* the ær wæs prior of *Cant-war-byrig* feng to tham abbot-rice on *Burh*.

MCXIV. On thæs ylcan tyme feorde se cyng toward thone sæ and ofer wolde, ac wæder him lætte : Tha hwile tha sende he his writ æfter thone abbot *Ernulf* of *Burh*, and bebead him thæt he efeostlice scolde to him cuman forþi thæt he wolde sprecon mid him dærne sprece : tha he to him com tha neodde he him to tham biscop-rice of *Rrose-ceastre* ; and tha arcebiscopes and biscopes and thæt dugeth thæt wæs on Engla-lande forþ mid se cyng : and he lang with-stod ac hit ne for-heol naht : and se cyng tha bebead thone arcebiscope thæt he sceolde him læden to *Cant-wara-byrig* and bletson him to biscop, wolde he nolde he. This wæs don on thære tuna tha man cleopath Burne ; thæt wæs thes dæges xvii kal. Octob. Tha the munecas of *Burch* hit hærdon sægen tha wæron hi swa sari swa hi næfre ær ne wæron forþi thæt he wæs swithe god and softe man and dyde mycel to god withinnan and withutan tha hwile the he thær wunode : God Ælmihtig wunie æfre mid him ! Tha sona thær-æfter tha geaf se cyng thone abbot-rice an munec of *Sæis Johan* wæs gehaten thurh thæs arcebiscopes gearnunge of *Cant-war-byrig*. And sona thær-æfter sende se cyng him, and se arcebiscope of *Cant-war-byrig*, to Rome æfter thæs Ærcebiscopes *Pallium* and an munec mid him *Warner* wæs gehaten and thone Ærce-diæcne *Johan* thæs Ærcebiscopes neafe : and hi thær well spæddon. This wæs don thes dæges xi kal. Octob. on thone tuna the

\* Mathias was brother to *Jeoffrey Riddell*, the king's chief justice.

man cleopath Rugenore. And thæs ylces dæges eode se cyng on scipa on Portes-muthe.\*

\* *Hugo's* account is a pretty close translation, and runs thus:—"Supradictus autem abbas *Ernulfus* sicut diximus a rege et principibus diligebatur. Et utinam non tantum dilectus esset; quoniam septimo anno ex quo ad abbatiam venerat et minùs quam vellet adhuc profecerat, cum rex mare transfretatus esset, et ventum attendisset ad villam quæ dicitur *Burne*, misit pro eo ut festinanter ad eum veniret, quasi secretiùs cum eo locuturus; (*quia erat Confessor ejus*): Cùm autem illuc venisset coëgit eum rex, et archiepiscopus *Raulfus* qui noviter erat electus et omnes alii accipere *episcopatum Rouecestria*; ipsoque viriliter et diu resistente jussit rex archiepiscopo ducere eum ad *Cantuarium* et ordinare quamvis invitum. Statimque rex dedit abbatiam cuidam monacho *Johanni de Sais* nomine, eumque Romam statim misit, pro pallio *Raulfi* archiepiscopi, et *Guarnesium* monachum et *Johannem* archidiaconum, *nepotem ejusdem archiepiscopi*, cum eo; et Legationem suam bene perfecerunt, et pallium apportaverunt.

"Monachi autem Burgenses, cum audissent patrem et pastorem suum sibi ablatum esse, flebant, et lachrimas lachrinis addebant, quia nihil aliud agere poterant. *Johannes* vero abbas, cum domi venisset, a Conventu honorifice susceptus est. Qui præparans se continuo ivit Romam, et anno alio ante festivitatem *Sancti Petri* reversus est."—*Hugo*.

*Remaldus*, in his *verses*, after relating that the king gave Ernulfus the bishopric of Rochester, falsely adds of the new abbot's journey to Rome—

"Quant recu de moines, (&c.)  
A veire s'en vad à Rume  
Pur bosun del Muster!"



MCXVI. On thisum ylcan geare bærnde eall thæt *mynstre* of *Burh*, and eallæ tha husas butan se captel-hus and se slæpperne: and thær-to eac bærnde eall tha mæste dæl of tha tuna: Eall this belamp on an Frigdæg; thæt wæs II non. Augt.\*

\* *Malmesbury* pretends that Ernulfus was about to repair the damage done at *this* fire, when he was elected bishop of Rochester, in 1114.

Vide *Remaldus'* account, pp. 168 and 169; and *Hugo's* differs very little from *his*.

After what has been said respecting *Osbern*, the precentor of Canterbury, I anticipate no objection in attributing to him the following extracts from the Cambridge copy.

The article of 1070 (with which that MS. ends) well illustrates the Canterbury fraud touching *Worcester*. It is remarkable that we have here no mention of the English council and the king's decision; but it is useless to expect even *consistency* from such men.\*

\* Though *Osbern* was older than *Malmesbury*, they seem to have been personally acquainted: *Osbern* is commended by the other beyond his merits:

"Dunstani vitam romanâ elegantîâ Osbernus composuit, nulli nostro tempore stilo secundus; musicâ, certe, omnium sine controversia primus."

It seems that the time of *Osbern's* death is altogether unknown; but I believe that *Malmesbury* was born and wrote earlier than is generally supposed. *Wharton* thinks his *Life of Wulstan* was written about 1140, in which life he writes, that he had heard *Walkelin* bishop of *Winchester* relate more than once, &c. (v. p. 129.) *Walkelin* died Christmas 1097.

Both these dishonest writers were English, though *Malmesbury*, towards the end of his second Book *de reg.* seems to boast of a mixture of Norman blood: "*Nec virtuti Normannorum derogo, quibus tum pro genere, tum pro beneficiis fidem habeo.*" By an empty affectation of candour, he has deceived all our writers, ancient and modern, from *Hoveden* and *Walsingham*, down to *Hume*.

In p. 217, I have expressed a belief that the article 1023 was *also* written by Osbern, and I think so still; the language and spelling are precisely his; but I have described it (by mistake) as in the Cambridge copy: it is in the copy *Tiberius*, B. IV. only, and has strangely crept in, for it is clearly of a Canterbury origin.

I am only surprised (for the main circumstances seem to be true) that *Elphegus* should be described as lying in Christ-church in Elfric's enumeration of the English saints, (vide page 244.)

MXXXI. Her com *Cnut*: Sona swa he becom to Engla-lande he geaf into *Cristes cyrican* on *Cant-ware-byri* tha hæfenan on *Sand-wic* and ealla tha gerihta the thær-of arisath, of æithre healfæ thære hæfene: swa thæt loc hwenne thæt flot byth ealra hehst and ealra fullost, beo an scip flotigende swa neh than lande swa hit nyxt and thar beo an mann stande of tham scipe and habbe ane taper-æx on his [Here is a mutilation: *Gibson* thus completes the record from the *Evidentiæ Eccl. Christi Cant.* in suâ manu quàm longius eâ de navi in terriam potest projici, debet a ministris Ecclesiæ Christi rectitudo navis accipi.]

MLXX. Her *Landfranc* se the wæs abbot on *Kadum*, com to Engla-lande: Se, æfter feawum dagum, wearth arcebiscop on *Kant-ware-berig*: He wæs gehaded *iv. kal. Septembris* on his agenum biscop-setle fram eahte biscopum his under-thioddum; tha othre the thær *næron* thurh ærend-rakean and thurh gewrite atiwdon hwi hi

thær beon ne mihton. On tham geare *Thomas*, se wæs gecoran biscop to *Eferwic* com to Cant-ware-berig thæt man hine thær gehadede æfter than ealdan gewunan : Tha tha *Landfranc* crafede fæstnunge his gehersumnesse mid ath-swerunge tha for-soc he and sæde thæt he hit naht to donne. Tha ge-wrathede hine se arcebiscope *Landfranc*, and behead tham biscopan the thar cumene wæron be thas arcebiscopes *Landfrances* hæse tha serfise to donne and eallan than munecan thæt hi scoldan hi unscrian ; and hi be his hese swa didan, swa *Thomas* to tham timan agean ferde buton bletsunga. Tha sona æfter thisan belamp thæt se arcebiscope *Landfranc* ferde to *Rome* ; and *Thomas* forth mid : Tha, tha hi thyder comon, and umbe other thing gesprecon hæfdon umbe thæt hi spreca woldon, tha angan *Thomas* his spæce hu he com to Cant-uare-byri and hu se arcebiscope axode hyrsumnesse mid ath-swerunge at him ; and he hit for-soc. Tha agann se arcebiscope *Landfranc* atywian mid openum gesceade thæt he mid rihte crafede thas tha he crafede ; and mid strangan cwydan thæt ylce gefæstnode to-foran tham Papan *Alexandre* and to-foran eallan than Concilium the thar gegadred was, and swa ham foran. Æfter thysan com *Thomas* [to] Cant-ware-byri and eal thæt se arcebiscope æt him crafede eadmedlice gefylde and sythan tha bletsungan under-feng.



SUPPLEMENT  
TO  
ELFRIC'S ANNALS.

[*From Copies Laud, Domitian, and Tiber. B. IV.*]

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IT has happened (though I had no reason to expect it) that I have acquired additional lights in the course of printing, and am now satisfied that the section attributed to *Elfric* must be extended to what follows. I need not trouble the reader with a long explanation, but it is by accident only that his history of the *Danish Conquest* is kept apart.

I believe this completes the *paternity* of the whole of the Records from 990 downwards.

MXVII. Feng *Cnut* Cyning to eall angel-cynnes-riċe;  
and hit to-dæld on feower: HIM SYLFUM, *West-Searum*;

and THYRCILLE, *East-Englan*; and EADRIC, *Myrcan*; and YRIC, *North Hymbran*. And on thissum gear was eac Eadric ealdorman of-slagen on Lundene, and Northman Leofwines sunu ealdormannes, and Æthelweard Æthelmures sunu thæs grætan, and Brihtric, Ælfhes\* sunu on Defenanscyre. And Cnut cyng aflymde ut Ædwig Ætheling and Eadwig ceorla cyng: And tha to-foran *kl. Aug.* het se cyng feccan him Æthelredes lafe, thes othres cynges, him to cwene.

MXVIII. On thisum gear was thæt gafol ge-læste ofer eall Angel-cynn: thæt was ealles twa and hund seofenti thusend punda, buton tham the seo *Burh-wuru* on Lundene gealdon, thæt was endlyfte healf thusend punda.† And se here ferde tha—sum to *Denmearcon*; and xl scipo belaf mid tham cyninge Cnute. And *Dene* and *Engle* wurdon sammale to Eadgares lage æt *Ornaforða*.‡

MXIX. Her gewende Cnut cyng to *Denmearcon* and thær wunode ealne thone winter: and her forth-ferde Ælfstan arcebisceop: se was *Lifing* genemned, and he was swithe rædfast man ægther for Gode and for worulde.

MX. Her com Cnut cyning eft to Engla-land: And tha on *Eastron* was micel gemot æt *Cyren-ceastre*; tha geutlagode man Æthelweard ealdorman. And on thissan gear for se cyng and *Thurkyl* eorl to *Assandune*, and *Wulfstan* arcebisceop and othre biscopas and eac abbodas and manege munecas, and ge-halgodan thæt mynstre æt *Assandune*: and Æthelnoth munuc; se the was *Deca-*

\* Reference to the word Ælfhes Ælfgetes.—*Laud*.

† Ten thousand five hundred pounds; and so Florence of Worcester: in copy *Laud* xi thusend punda.—Vide extract from *Hugo*, pp. 243 and 242.

‡ This seems to relate to the publication of the laws of Canutus.

nus æt *Cristes*-cyrcan wearth on tham ilcan geare on *idus Novembris* to biscope ge-halgode into Xpes cyrcan.

XXXI. Her on thisum geare to Sce *Martinus* mæssan *Cnut* cyng ge-utlagode *Thurkil* eorl : and *Ælfgar* bisceop se ælmes-fulla forthferde on Xpes-mæsse-uhtan.

XXXII. Her *Cnut* cyng for ut mid his scipum to Wiht : and *Æthelnoth* bisceop for to *Rome*, and wæs thær underfangen mid micclam wurthscipe fram Benedicte tham arwurthan *Papan*, and he mid his agenum handum him Pallium on asette, and to arcebisceope swithe arwurthlice ge-halgade and ge-bletsade on *Non. Octob.* And se arcebisceop sona thær mid mæssan sang on tham sylfan dæge, and syththan thær-æfter mid tham sylfan *Papan* arwurthlice gereordade, and eac him seolf thone pallium genam on Sce *Petres* weofode, and tha seoththan blithelice ham to his earde ferde : and *Leofwine*\* abbot, se wæs unrihtlice of *Elig*\* adræfed, wæs his gefera ; and hine thes ælces thinges ge-clænsode the him mau on sæde, swa se *Papa* him tahte on thes arcebisceopes gewitnesse, and on ealles thæs geferscipes the him mid wæs.

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\* Vide extract from *Hugo*, p. 244; where he reports something of the abbot of *Ramsey*, to which this may relate.



## FURTHER PARTICULARS RESPECTING ELFRIC.

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I HAVE just met with Mr. Ingram's *Inaugural Lecture*, &c. *Oxford*, 1807, and I wonder that several of his opinions have not been controverted.

With respect to the narrative of the two northern adventurers, I am free to say that to my less practised eye the orthography seems to be *Elfric's*, and is quite distinguishable from Alfred's.—Vide the extracts from the *royal* author in Wise's *Asser*. By way of proof that it is *Alfred's*, Mr. Ingram constantly renders *cwæth he says*; which cannot be commended, since the whole of the context requires *he said*.

I have stated, in p. 55, that Gunton had omitted all further mention of *Elfric* and *Kinsinus*: it is my mistake; they are again mentioned in the chapter of Tombs.

I have returned again and again to the perusal of *Hugo's* praises of *Kenulfus*, and am finally satisfied that they were meant by the original writer for *Elfric*.

1st. Because of the extreme propriety of the description;

And 2ndly. Because otherwise, (this description being plainly written after *Kenulfus's* cession,) the same terms were again necessary to describe *Elfric*, his *successor*; they were almost peculiar to *his* case, and commendation can go no further.

It is certain also, that the writings of the church were Hugo's principal materials; he there found some such panegyric upon Elfric, and corrupted it: indeed, there are traces of another hand to be seen through his Latin.

*Non est nostra parvitas*, (says the writer, to set forth the degree of his merit): this was a very favourite expression with our monk-writers *before* the Conquest. *Ingulfus* makes frequent use of it, but *Hugo* never.

In fitting this portrait to *Kenulfus*, Hugo had but *two* words to alter—snatched rather than elected to [York] after an abbocy of [18] years.

In this case it was *Elfric* who built those venerable walls south of the abbey: it is true, *Malmesbury* also declares that they were built by *Kenulfus*,\* but his testimony *here* is of very little weight.

And as, on the *one* hand, we may see the *abbot Elfric* in Hugo's *abbot Kenulfus*, so *Elfric archbishop* is discernible in his *archbishop Kinsinus*.

“ In tempore abbatis *Leofrici* (says he, meaning *Kinsini*) ita carum et amatum erat monasterium *Sancti Petri de Burch* ut non solum comites et divites sed et archiepiscopi et episcopi relinquerent sedes proprias, et se suaque omnia *Deo* et *Sancto Petro* traderent: sicut *Elfricus* archiepiscopus de *Eboraco* qui dedit albam de purpura cum optimis aurificiis paratam et duas cappas optimas et stolas et dalmaticam albam, et altare cum reliquiis optime cum auro paratum, et tria pallia et duo magna candelabra de *argento* (quæ postea furata sunt) et baculum suum, omnia optima: Hæc omnia et multa alia, cum corpore suo, dedit

\* *Burch* olim *Medeshamstede* dicebatur, sed, postquam *Kenulfus* abbas locum muro cinxit, a similitudine *urbis* *Burch* vocatur.—*De pont. iv.*

archiepiscopus, ibique requiescit. *Similiter et Sanctus Kinsinus, ejusdem Civitatis archiepiscopus, dedit textum Evangelii optime paratum de auro—et villam de Tinewelle, et in ornamentis quæ appretiata fuerunt ccc librorum quæ omnia cum corpore suo [&c. &c.] Hic Kinsinus monachus erat, et abstinentissimè et sanctissimè vivebat; ita, cum Clerici vel familia ejus affluentissimè et splendidè, cotidie, epularentur ipse cum grossiore pane vel ordeacio, et cibis et potibus vilioribus corpus sustentabat. In quadragesima, verò, semper de villa in villam pedibus ambulat, et sæpe nudis; predicando, et eleemosynam faciendo: et magis noctibus ibat, carens jactantiam et vanam gloriam. Sicque beato fine et in bonis operibus in pace quievit. Sed, et, Wulstanus, archiepiscopus se et omnia sua dederat in eodem loco: sed, cum isset ad visitanda Sanctorum loca et venisset ad Eli, ibi infirmatus est, et mortuus, et sepultus."*

The great error of the *Canterbury* men, (amongst whom we number *Malmesbury*.) was that they pursued their object without sufficient forethought. This was the case with *Osbern* in particular, when he cried out upon *Elfric Bata*; and with *Malmesbury*, when he wrote that there was one *Elfric*, abbot of *Malmesbury*, who was reputed a good author. They were wrong to recognize their adversary at all: and he has escaped in consequence.

It was a better device (with all its absurdity) which *Remaldus* and *Hugo* followed. In their hands, and under the name of *Elsinus*, *Elfric* was effectually laid asleep,—not for fifty years only, but for eight round centuries.\*

\* " \* \* \* \* *illachrimabilis*

*Urguetur ignotusque longâ*

*Nocte, caret quia vate sacro.*

It was by an extraordinary accident that Elfric's bones were discovered at Peterborough in 1651, exactly six hundred years after his death. The following is *Gunton's* account of the matter, who was not aware of their genuine sanctity; for in truth the prime glory of the church is contained in this very box.

In the civil wars, the people of *Croyland* having declared for the *King*, (whose tenants they were,) *Cromwell* himself, with a body of Parliamentarians, took up their quarters at Peterborough on the 18th April 1643, in order to the siege: *Croyland* was taken on the 28th.

Our author relates in what manner the church of Peterborough was sacked and spoiled, between the 18th April and the 5th May: "Cromwell (who lodged in the Vineyard) if not *acting*, yet not *restraining* the soldiers in this heat of their fury."

"The greatest ornament of the quire, (and indeed of the whole church,) was the *high altar*, a structure of stone most exquisitely carved and beautified with gilding and painting; it was ascended unto by about a dozen steps, and, from its basis, some six feet high, upon which were several curious pilasters supporting a fair arched roof, whereon were three goodly spires reaching almost to the top of the church," &c. &c.

"This altar was beaten down to the lowest base of plain work, and so stood a deformed spectacle some eight

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Paulum sepultæ distat inertię  
 Celata virtus : Non ego Te meis  
 Chartis inornatum silebo,  
 Totve tuos patiar labores  
 Impune, *Elfrice*, carpere lividas  
 Obliviones."

years ; and then, 1651, a private person disliking it because there was not a thorough reformation, it was ordered that the remainder, with the whole mound whereon it was erected, should be levelled with the pavement of the quire.

“ The removal of this altar brought something to light which had long been concealed, viz. a certain iron like the beam of a balance passing through that part of the altar to the abbot's chair: for what use it served I cannot say. On the right-hand, that is, on the *south side*, appeared these two verses, written on the wall in ancient Saxon letters, and now to be seen,” &c.

“ On the *other side*, in two hollow places of the wall, were found two chests, each about three feet long, and in each of which were the bones of a man, and of whom appeared by a plate of lead in each chest, whereon the name of the person was engraven. On the one was *Elfricus*, on the other *Kynsius* ; both of them had been archbishops of York, and being dead, their bodies were interred in the monastery of Peterborough, where formerly they had been monks.

“ But *Elfricus* and *Kynsius* could not have their depositories so *short* from the beginning, but it is probable they had a removal from under ground to lie above ground in this wall so near the altar, their first place of sepulture being not thought fit to contain them any longer. The place of *Elfricus*' burial I cannot tell, but for *Kynsius*, I have heard my father, who was well read in the antiquities of this church, say, that the marble monument now lying on the north side of the quire was his. It bears the portraiture of a shaven monk lying on the top.”—*Gunton*, p. 92, 97, 98.

The translation of these bones from the earth must have been noticed in the records which were destroyed





- 297, line 23, *for* Two appear, *read* one appears.  
 — 24, *for* sub a<sup>u</sup>. 1085 and 1086, *read* sub a<sup>o</sup>. 1086.  
 307, — 10, *for* butoh, *read* buton.  
 355, — 9, *for* gytade, *read* gymade.  
 359, — 14, *for* eortesegge, *read* Ceortesegge.  
 375, — 31, *for* ta-foran, *read* to-foran.  
 — 32, *for* neht, *read* neh-  
 — 17, *for* lui, *read* lei.  
 l. — 30, *for* eeelesia, *read* ecclesia.  
 — *for* gehadde, *read* gehadode

THE END.

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# ERRATA.

- Page 24, line 8, *for p*, read *p*.  
 35, — 6, *for Je read Ic*.  
 62, — *for Elfric's history*, read *Elfric's personal history*.  
 97, — 15, *for Leofric*, read *Leofsie*.  
 — 19, *for had in his see*, read *raised to his see*.  
 136, — 19, *for His read He*.  
 140, — 16, *for relics*, read *riches*.  
 144, — 4, *for 1116*, read *1110*,  
 149, — 20, *for Witheric*, read *Witric*,  
 151, — 22, *for precisely*, read *very nearly*.  
 168, — 9, *for Nicholas*, read *Witric's*.  
 169, — 14, *for eler*, read *cler*.  
 173, — 14, *for mighte*, read *mihte*.  
 190, — 23, *for 1058*, read *1056*.  
 198, — 11, *for Petriburgensis*, read *Petrburgenses*.  
 201, — 1, *for a short extract from*, read *an extract from Wulstan more complete than in*.  
 — 3, *dele where*, and the next line.  
 — 20, *for laudatus*, read *laudatus*.  
 202, — 1, *for contains*, read *contains certain Canterbury Charters, &c. and*  
 — 2, *for 1058*, read *1056*.  
 203, — 5, *for interpretations*, read *interpolations*.  
 223, — 18, *for St. Mary of Bonifons*, read *St. Mary Bonifons*.  
 227, — 2, *for on-be-lædon swincgla*, read *swincgla be-lædon on*.  
 — 6, *for se*, read *tha*.  
 — 10, *for cuman*, read *cunnian*.  
 283, — 21, *for lango*, read *lange*.  
 — 12, *for ther-binnan and*, read *ther-binnan*. And.

Wer, a husband	Wregde, he accused, betrayed
Wesan, to be	Wrenecas, tricks
Wig, war	Wucan, weeks
Wikingan, pirates	Wuna, wont, custom
Wildeor, wild beasts, game	Wundung, dwelling, stay
Wingear, a vineyard	Wunigan, to settle, to dwell
Wite, a penalty	Wurdon, were
With, against, with, near	Wynde, he refused, he de-
Withernale, a conference	Wyned
Witherraden, conspired a-	Wyrpian, to cast as a net
gainst	Wyrta, herbs
With-læg, he refused	Wyrtege-manne, ornaments
With-thon-the, provided that	
Witodlice, indeed	
Wog, dishonour	
Wolcne, the sky, well-ken	
Word, a word, reputation	
Wothbora, a prophet, an	
orator	
Wrecan, to cure for, to re-	
venge	
Wrecend, avenger	
	Ylf, cattle
	Ylfhengistas, sea-horses,
	ships
	Ylf-numma, heir
	Ymbe, in
	Ylpeban, ivory
	Y.

Underhide *Howe* *tertia*, nine  
o'clock service  
Ungelhwern, *sedition*  
Ungelimp, *misdeed*  
Uune, *leave, permission*  
Unscrydan, *to unrove*  
Unthanecs hire, *against her*  
*will*  
Unthearf, *loss*  
Unwrest, *crazy, unsteady*  
Uppica, *supreme*  
Utladon, *to put out*

W

Waccan, *to fail*  
Waddod, *rigged*  
Wæg, *a way*  
Wæl, *battle, slaughter*  
Wæpnod, *armed*  
Wærdedon, *they guarded*  
Wæred, *army*  
Wærned, *urned*  
Wærst, *worst*  
Wæstun, *fruit*  
Wætes, *drinkable, of water*  
Wæ-la! wæ-la-wa! *alas!*  
Wandode, *he was afraid, he-  
sitated*  
Wanode, *he wanted*  
Wæru, *the citizens*  
Wæt, *he knows*  
Wæfod, *the altar*  
Wæal, *a wall*  
Wæaldan, *to govern*  
Wæarp, *he threw*  
Wædd, *a pledge*  
Wælgum, *the wealthy*  
Wændon, *they went, they*  
*thought*  
Wæoll, *welled, filled as a*  
*pool*

Theah, *indeed, though*  
Theah-bwæther, *notwith-  
standing*  
Theahthend, *a provider*  
Theahth, *thought*  
Theahthend, *a provider*  
Theahth, *useful, lively*  
Theahle, *penitently, greatly*  
Theod, *the people, subject*  
Theow, *a minister*  
Theowdom, *service, worship*  
Theowlice, *orderly, devoutly*  
Theras, *leaders*  
Thicgan, *to receive, to taste*  
Tholen, *to bear*  
Thowung, *a suffering, the*  
*passion*  
Threalas, *servants*  
Threanagas, *bride-veins*  
Thywend, *leading, driving*  
Thillan, *to till*  
To-twæmd, *divorced*  
To-regian, *to harass, to vex*  
Trow-wyrlt, *treewright,*  
*(carpenter)*  
Treppan, *traps*  
Truwade, *he trusted*  
Tryw, *true*  
Trywleas, *false*  
Tugon, *they trusted*  
Tur, *the Tower of London*  
Tuwa, *twice*  
Tylyde, *taken, provided*  
Tythode, *he gave*  
Tytwigend, *turning*

U

Umbæ, *about*  
Unascegend, *unspeakable*  
Undergeat, *understood*  
Undern dagas, *early-day*

Spilde, slain  
 Spryttung, an investigation  
 Stan, a stone  
 Stent, standeth  
 Steofnod, cited  
 Steorde, he steered, was cap-  
 tain  
 Stith, severe  
 Storthunning, thunder  
 Stow, a place  
 Strong, severe, strong  
 Stunf, stupid  
 Sum, some one or more  
 Sunu, a son  
 Sutelath, he sheweth  
 Swa, so; swa swa, so as  
 Swa hwat swa, whatsoever  
 Swaefel, sulphur  
 Swaldon, they swallowed  
 Swedig, rich  
 Swencean, swan-gan, to  
 punish, to pinch  
 Swetholode, he softened  
 Swile, such, as if  
 Swinc, vexation, trouble  
 Swyfleras, shippers  
 Swythie, very  
 Syfermyssse, soberness  
 Syl, a plough  
 Syru-wrencas, treachery  
 T.

Tæhte, he declared  
 Tæl, an account  
 Tealdon, they reported  
 Teonam, injuries  
 Tha, then, when, the, that  
 Tha tha, when the  
 Thæt, there, where  
 Thærsc, thrash, toss

Rim, enumeration, numbers  
 Rima, the sea-shore  
 Rode, the cross, the gallows  
 Robton, they despoiled  
 Roteste, most splendid  
 Rymdon, they retreated  
 S.  
 Sac, a cause, a dispute, sake  
 Sacles, secure  
 Sae, the sea  
 Sæht, peace  
 Sæhtlode, settled, reconciled  
 Sammæle, reconciled  
 Sand, a messenger, the Pope's  
 Nuncio  
 Sandes-man, a messenger  
 Scoot, money, reward, pay  
 Scoowyrth, shoemaker  
 Scildig, accused, guilty  
 Scipod, shipped  
 Scrydan, to clothe  
 Scyft, shift, division  
 Seamer, a tailor  
 Seothan, to boil  
 Sidan, silks  
 Sig, victory  
 Sidi, a time; a turn; other-  
 sith, a second time  
 Siahtung, slaughter, killing  
 of game  
 Siege, a stroke  
 Smeagan, to plot  
 Smeagend, deliberating  
 Smeat, smell, refined  
 Smaede, he regarded himself  
 Sohtan, sought  
 Somme, together  
 Somnian, to summon  
 Soth, true



Laes, *lays, leisure ground,*  
 pasture  
 Laetsum, *late*  
 Laewed, *lay; gelaewed, the*  
*laily*  
 Lat, *widow, left*  
 Lare, *learning*  
 Lareow, *a preceptor*  
 Lath, *unwilling, loathsome*  
 Leaf, *loved, left*  
 Leas, *less, false*  
 Lenctene, *Lent*  
 Leod, *the people, subject*  
 Leofsta-hlaford, *dearest lord*  
 Leoht, *the light*  
 Leoma, *ray of a star*  
 Leton, *they suffered, they*  
*supposed*  
 Libbend, *living*  
 Licetung, *deceit*  
 Lichama, *the body*  
 Lithica, *living*  
 Loc, *agreement*  
 Lyre, *loss*

## M.

Ma, *more*  
 Macung, *contrivance*  
 Meg, *cousin, any kindred*  
 Mel, *space*  
 Maendon, *they complained*  
 Maessian, *to administer the*  
*mass*  
 Maeste, *most, mostly*  
 Maestling, *murt, copper*  
 Mate, *measured*  
 Mal, *discourse, an excuse*  
 Male, *wages, rent*  
 Man, *they, (requires 3rd*  
 person sing.)

Het, *bid*  
 Hergian, *to hurry*  
 Hig, *hay: big! alas!*  
 Hlaest, *goods*  
 Hlaf, *bread*  
 Hlaford, *a lord*  
 Hladig, *a lady, the queen*  
 Hordingas, *heads, leaders*  
 Holm, *a plain*  
 Hordere, *a treasurer*  
 Hranes, *whales*  
 Hraeth, *soon, easily*  
 Hrowse, *greediness*  
 Huntia, *a hunter*  
 Hunnoth, *hunting*  
 Husel, *the sacramental bread*  
 Hwasl, *a whale*  
 Hwan, *dangerous*  
 Hurton, *they separated*  
 Hyeleaste, *disorder, haste*  
 Hyrn, *a corner*  
 Hyrnese, *a district*  
 Hyrsunian, *to obey*

## I.

Ilcodon, *they delayed*  
 Into, *into, of, of the*  
 Iugoth, *youth*

## K.

Kenepas, *a knapsack*

## L.

Læd-towas, *guides*  
 Lægeceaster, *Chester, Leices-*  
*ter*  
 Læht, *lightning*  
 Læhte, *he drew near*



Fyrde, an army  
 Fyrdinge, forces on foot,  
 under arms

## G

Gad, gadisen, a good or spur  
 Gato, tribute  
 Gan, to go  
 Gastlice, ghostly  
 Gald, yield  
 Geamene, to guide  
 Geancsumed, distracted  
 Gearcod, gearwe, prepared,  
 ready  
 Gearres-dæg, new year's-day  
 Gebette! spare!  
 Gebicgean, to buy  
 Gebotad, bettered  
 Gebroïden, drawn, described  
 Gebygge, subject  
 Gebyrtlan, buildings  
 Gecurdon, they turned, re-  
 turned  
 Gecweþen, agreed  
 Gecwene, welcome, agree-  
 able  
 Gecyðnysse, a testament, a  
 bequest  
 Gedrecednysse, outrage  
 Gedrehte, oppressed  
 Gedwolran, heretics  
 Gesterdon, they sustained  
 Gestercip, fellowship  
 Gegan, to begin  
 Gegodian, to enrich  
 Gעהeald, a guardian  
 Gehend, near  
 Gehyrsum, obedient  
 Gelæste, paid  
 Gelomlice, often

Feollan, to fall, to fell  
 Feolagan, fellows, allies  
 Feond, an enemy  
 Feor, far  
 Feorme, a furm, rent  
 Fera, arrived, mustered  
 Ferdon, they died, departed,  
 went  
 Festen, a fort, a fastness  
 Fixas, fishes  
 Fla, an arrow  
 Fleam, flight  
 Floc-maelum, in troops  
 Flugan, to fly  
 Fordon, to run  
 Fore-ward, a compact  
 For-gifen, given in public,  
 forgiven  
 For-gnuld hit, they paid  
 for it  
 For-heol, it availed  
 For-hidenesse, wreck, ship-  
 wreck  
 For-luron, they lost  
 Forma, first  
 For-soc, he refused  
 Forth-bylding, a strength-  
 ening  
 For-wregead, betrayed  
 For-spure, a foot-stool  
 Freccnysse, fear, fear with-  
 out danger  
 Freom, profit  
 Frib, security  
 Frouer, a protector  
 Fullian, to baptise  
 Ful-mægen, main, the main  
 army  
 Fultum, help  
 Fundian, to will, or design  
 Furdhon, beyond, yet longer  
 Fylce, followers



## E

Ea, water  
Eac, also  
Eadmodlice, humbly  
Eagan, the eyes  
Eal, all  
Eala! Oh!  
Eald, old, an elder, a ruler  
Eam, eom, uncle  
Eard, the earth, the country  
Eartohtnyssæ, difficultly  
Earm, wretched  
Earmian, to grieve  
Earmian, to run up, or reach,  
to  
Eathæ, easily  
Eathæ, a share  
Eft, again  
Ege, fear  
Egbuend, an inhabitant  
Ele, oil  
Emd, a part, an end  
Engla, angels  
Eowde (æteowde), appeared  
Erian, to plough  
F  
Fæce, time, while  
Fædan, to feed  
Fæder, father  
Fædera, paternal uncle  
Fælice, strange, beyond sea  
Fæst, fast, close  
Fage and floe, plaise, flat  
Fata, household vessels  
Fearlice, quickly  
Feccan, to fetch  
Fengon, to come at

## Cothe, disease

Cucon, quick, alive  
Cumman, to know  
Cuth, known  
Cweþen, said, agreed  
Cyðan, arguments  
Cyð, cold  
Cyne-helm, the crown  
Cyng, cying, the king  
Cyn, nature  
Cytran, to turn  
D  
Dæg, day  
Dæg-red, early day  
Dæghwamlice, daily  
Dæthath, it becometh  
Dæde, he divided  
Dæme, weighly, secret  
Deadbote, a kind of mortuary  
Dedyrtsum, calamitous  
Delhan, to dig  
Demian, judges, councillors  
Deorfan, to labour  
Deorwyrde, precious  
Deviles, devils  
Digolice, secretly  
Don, to do  
Dreadnyssæ, wretchedness  
Drafa, a drove, a herd  
Drapen, they destroyed  
Dream, a dream, joy  
Drif, fever  
Drihten, our Lord  
Drohtniend, directed  
Dugoth, the nobility  
Dwid, a spectre  
Dyhte, precept  
Dyring, daring  
Dysira, flighty, foolish persons

Besyrewan, to betray  
 Betethite, committed  
 Beteah, he accused  
 Betealdan, to excuse  
 Betran, to repair  
 Bewitan, to teach  
 Bigean, to buy  
 Binnan, within  
 Blændan, to blind  
 Bodan, messengers  
 Borhæste, bound over  
 Bræd, broad  
 Brædan, to roast  
 Bredath, he knits  
 Brego, a leader  
 Brema, illustrious  
 Bridas, birds  
 Broce, illness  
 Brog, fear  
 Brucath, he takes, eats  
 Bryce, a breuch  
 Brycge, a bridge; *Bruges*  
 Bryne, fire  
 Bugan, to bow, to yield  
 Bure, a chamber, a bower  
 Burh-waru, the citizens  
 Butan, without  
 Butericas, leathern bottles  
 Bylding, exaltation  
 Bylehwit, modest, sincere  
 Byliga, bellows  
 Bysmore, shame  
 Byllian, to build  
 C.  
 Canst, knowest  
 Canteicapas, long cloaks  
 Cild, a child, a young noble-  
 man  
 Cleafas, cellars  
 Cneow, the knee

Andsete, haled  
 Angel, a hook  
 Anginne, a struggle, a be-  
 gunning  
 Anmodlice, of one mind or  
 fashion  
 An-reces, right-on  
 Anredlice, readily, con-  
 stantly  
 Aspeon, to entice  
 Astælde, set, begun  
 Asthite, set  
 Asytrad, stirred  
 Atendon, they kindled  
 Athum, son-in-law  
 Aweorpan, to drive, to warp  
 Awocan, kin, relatives in  
 blood  
 B.  
 Bana, bones  
 Barmette, a burning  
 Bar, a boar  
 Bebbaburh, Bamborough  
 Beah, a broclet  
 Beacna, beacons  
 Beandan, bonds  
 Begat, he collected  
 Begrimod, ensnared  
 Behæsa, promises  
 Behet, promised  
 Beheld, it awaited  
 Behreowsung, repentance  
 Belandod, strip of lands  
 Belisian, to geld  
 Benda, bonds  
 Beorgan, to defend  
 Beorht, bright  
 Bepæhte, deceived  
 Berg, a grave

# GLOSSARY.

The following Glossary contains the principal saxon words which occur in this volume, and are obsolete on our side of the Tweed.

Vide composites in *ge*, *be*, *for*, *un*, *a*.

## A

*A*, *ever*  
*Abnaman*, to ban, to call out  
*or embody*  
*Abidan*, to beg  
*Abirgeth*, he tastes  
*Abunnon*, they ceased  
*Abudion*, they prevented  
*Abugan*, to desert  
*Ac*, *but*  
*Accenede*, known  
*Acwylmon*, they overwheled  
*Adligian*, to wipe out  
*Ad*  
*Ad*, law  
*Adt*, back, aft  
*Adter-cwethen*, renounced  
*Adtra*, eggs  
*Adther*, either, both  
*Adita*, havings, goods, possessions  
*Adie*, reverence  
*Adl*, an awl  
*Adlas*, eels

*Adleputan*, jacks (fish)  
*Adic*, each  
*Adnice*, decently  
*Ad*, (subst.) brass; (adv.) before  
*Adrest*, first  
*Adthelic*, easily  
*Adt-bred*, abroad  
*Adtes*, of eating, cutables  
*Adymde*, put to flight  
*Adoten*, shed  
*Adaten*, raised  
*Adon*, they hanged  
*Adredan*, to rid  
*Adre*, ought, he had, head  
*Adlice*, manfully  
*Adwer*, any where  
*Adgepene*, to annul  
*Alisde*, purchased  
*Amrydan*, to mur  
*Amansumade*, accursed  
*Amund-bræg*, break-pewer  
*Andgytan*, to understand  
*And-lang*, along

STORY OF

THE

THE

## GLOSSARY.

Imperative mood.

<i>Sing.</i>		<i>Plur.</i>	
1st pers.	Infā,	Infān,	Infāth,
2d pers.	Infā,	Infāge,	Infāth,
3d pers.	Infāge,	Infān.	
		<i>Participle, Infānd.</i>	

The irregularities of the verbs are infinite, as in our own day.

Bosworth's Grammar is in good repute.

The verbs *wæsan, beon*, (to be,) make in the *present* tense.

<i>Plur.</i>	} lufodon.	<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	1st pers.	3d pers.
			lufode,	lufodest,	lufode,
			}		
<i>Past tense.</i>					
<i>Plur.</i>	} lufað.	<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	1st pers.	3d pers.
			lufige, lufie,	lufast,	lufað,
			}		
<i>Present tense.</i>					
<i>Plur.</i>	} synd, syndon.	<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	1st pers.	3d pers.
			sy,	sy,	sy,
			}		
<i>Laiutan</i> (to love).					
<i>Present tense.</i>					
<i>Plur.</i>	} wæron.	<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	1st pers.	3d pers.
			wæs,	wære, wast,	wæs, was,
			}		
<i>Past tense.</i>					
<i>Plur.</i>	} beoð, beoð, aaron, &c.	<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	1st pers.	3d pers.
			eoð, beo,	earð, bysð,	ys, beoð, byðh,
			}		

The pronoun *Ic* (I).

<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	
we,	Ic,	<i>Nom.</i>
ure,	min, mine,	<i>Gen.</i>
us.	me,	<i>Dat. Acc. &amp; Abl.</i>

*Thu* (thou).

<i>ge,</i>	<i>thu,</i>	<i>Nom. &amp; Voc.</i>
eower,	thin, thine,	<i>Gen.</i>
eow.	the,	<i>Dat. Acc. &amp; Abl.</i>

These pronouns have also a *dual*:—*wit* (we two),  
&c. *gyt* (ye two), &c.

*Thes* (this).

<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Mas.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>
thes,	theos,	this,
thises,	thissere,	thises,
thisum,	thissere,	thisum,
thisne,	thas,	this.

*Plural.*

<i>Nom. &amp; Acc.</i>	thas,	thas,	thys,
<i>Gen.</i>	thissere,		
<i>Dat. &amp; Abl.</i>	thisum.		

*He, heo, hit*, (he, she, it.)

<i>Sing.</i>			
<i>Nom.</i>	he, heo, hit,	hi, hig, hie, hy, heo,	
<i>Gen.</i>	his, hire, his,	hira, beora,	
<i>Dat. &amp; Abl.</i>	him, hire, hit,	heom, him,	
<i>Acc.</i>	hine, hi, hit,	hi, hig.	



- Gēd-lof, *piety*  
 God-sib a *godfather*  
 Gremian, to *grieve*, to *dis-*  
 please  
 Grin, a *snare*  
 Grib, *peace*, *agreement*  
 Gymm, *terrible*  
 Gyipe, *food*, *good cheer*  
 Gyrd, a *rod*  
 Gyne, *eagerly*  
 Gylan, to *acquire*  
 H.  
 Hæcod, a *pike (fish)*  
 Hadod, *ordained a clergy-*  
 man  
 Hæcce, a *pall*,  
 Hæloc, a *hawk*  
 Hæft, a *prison*  
 Hæftmung, *custody*  
 Hærnes, *brains*  
 Hælend, *the Holy One, our*  
 Lord  
 Halgian, to *hallow*  
 Hamelan, *steersmen*  
 Hand-sceofe, *hand-cuffed;—*  
 handdydon, *they captured*  
 Hand-pleg, *handy blows*  
 Has, *hoarse*  
 Hasætan, *commanders*  
 Hatten, *called, named*  
 Hæwede, *looked*  
 Hædeor, *game of a larger*  
 size  
 Hæfod, *the head*  
 Hæwian, to *hew*  
 Hælig, *sad, heavy*  
 Heonam, *hence, hither*  
 Heort, *the heart, a hart*  
 Here, *the adverse army, an*  
 army  
 Gēlumpian, to *defeat*  
 Gemanig, *among, meantime*  
 Gēmætras, *borders of a coun-*  
 try, *moors*  
 Gēmelleste, *carelessness*  
 Gemitise, (*interj.*) *pity!*  
 Gemuðe, *he remembered*  
 Gēnelehte, *he approached*  
 Gēold-gild, *pay, money, tri-*  
 bute  
 Gēond, *beyond, throughout*  
 Gēomlice, *diligently*  
 Gēornian, to *desire*  
 Gērad, a *restriction, condi-*  
 tion  
 Gērada, *horse-harness*  
 Gēreordinge, a *meal*  
 Gernu, *type, mystery*  
 Gēnhte, *duties*  
 Gēsæliþ, *luck, good-luck*  
 Gēsead, a *shaw*  
 Gēsmeað, a *contrivance*  
 Gēspædde, *sped*  
 Gēstapheilian, to *restore*  
 Gēslyde, *he quieted*  
 Gēsund, *same, sound*  
 Gēswin, *toil, vexation*  
 Gēþafa, *accused, guilty*  
 Gēþwærian, to *agree*  
 Gēumnan, to *own*  
 Gēwat, *he went, he died*  
 Gēwealc, *contest, contentions*  
 Gēwearþ, *he met, agreed*  
 Gēwin, *battle, conquest*  
 Gēwraþaðe him, *he grew*  
 ungly  
 Gēgypte, *apprehended, snapt*  
 up  
 Gierd, *grass*  
 Gisilian, to *pledge, give hosta-*  
 ges  
 Gitsung, *avarice*

Fyrd, an army  
 Fyrdinge, forces on foot,  
 under arms

## G

Gad, gadisen, a goad or spur  
 Galol, tribute  
 Gam, to go  
 Gastlice, ghostly  
 Gald, yield  
 Gaeorne, to guide  
 Geaencsumed, distracted  
 Gearcod, gearwe, prepared,  
 ready  
 Gearas-dæg, new year's-day  
 Gebette! spare!  
 Gebicgeam, to buy  
 Gebotad, bettered  
 Gebroiden, drawn, described  
 Gebygge, subject  
 Gebyrtilan, buildings  
 Gecurdon, they turned, re-  
 turned  
 Gecwæthen, agreed  
 Gecwene, welcome, agree-  
 able  
 Gecyðnyssæ, a testament, a  
 bequest  
 Gedeceðnyssæ, outrage  
 Gedehte, oppressed  
 Gedwolan, heretics  
 Geferdon, they sustained  
 Geferscip, fellowship  
 Gegan, to begin  
 Gegodan, to enrich  
 Gethald, a guardian  
 Gehend, near  
 Gebyrsum, obedient  
 Gelæste, paid  
 Gelomlice, often

Fæollan, to fall, to fell  
 Fæolagan, fellows, allies  
 Feond, an enemy  
 Feor, far  
 Feorme, a farm, rent  
 Fera, arrived, mustered  
 Ferdon, they died, departed,  
 went  
 Fester, a fort, a fastness  
 Fixas, fishes  
 Fleam, flight  
 Floc-maelum, in troops  
 Flugan, to fly  
 Fordon, to ruin  
 Foreward, a compact  
 For-giften, given in public,  
 forgiven  
 For-gildon hit, they paid  
 for it  
 For-heol, it availed  
 For-hidenesse, wreck, ship-  
 wreck  
 For-luron, they lost  
 Forma, first  
 For-soc, he refused  
 Forth-bylding, a strength-  
 ening  
 For-wregeð, betrayed  
 For-spure, a foot-stool  
 Frecnysse, fear, fear with-  
 out danger  
 Freom, profit  
 Frib, security  
 Frouer, a protector  
 Fullian, to baptise  
 Ful-mægen, main, the main  
 army  
 Fulum, help  
 Fundian, to will, or design  
 Furdon, beyond, yet longer  
 Fylce, followers

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Andsete, *hated*  
 Angel, *a hook*  
 Angme, *a struggle, a be-*  
*gunning*  
 Ammodice, *of one mind or*  
*fashion*  
 An-reces, *right-on*  
 Anredlice, *readily, con-*  
*stantly*  
 Aspeon, *to entice*  
 Asvalde, *set, began*  
 Ashtie, *set*  
 Asytad, *stirred*  
 Atendon, *they kindled*  
 Athum, *son-in-law*  
 Awcorpan, *to drive, to warp*  
 Awocan, *kin, relatives in*  
*blood*

## B.

Banan, *murderers*  
 Bana, *bones*  
 Baernette, *a burning*  
 Bar, *a boat*  
 Bebbaburb, *Bamborough*  
 Beah, *a bracelet*  
 Beacna, *beacons*  
 Beandan, *bonds*  
 Begear, *he collected*  
 Begrimod, *ensnared*  
 Behæsa, *promises*  
 Behet, *promised*  
 Behoeld, *it availed*  
 Behreowsung, *repentance*  
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 Beorgan, *to defend*  
 Beorht, *bright*  
 Bepæhte, *deceived*  
 Berg, *a grave*

## C.

Besyrewan, *to betray*  
 Betæhte, *committed*  
 Betæh, *he accused*  
 Betæaldan, *to excuse*  
 Betan, *to repay*  
 Bewitan, *to teach*  
 Bigean, *to buy*  
 Bimnan, *within*  
 Blændian, *to blind*  
 Bodan, *messengers*  
 Borthæste, *bound over*  
 Brod, *broad*  
 Bradan, *to roast*  
 Bredath, *he knits*  
 Brego, *a leader*  
 Brema, *illustrious*  
 Briedas, *birds*  
 Broce, *illness*  
 Brog, *fear*  
 Brucath, *he takes, eats*  
 Bryce, *a breach*  
 Brygge, *a bridge; Bruges*  
 Bryne, *fire*  
 Bugan, *to bow, to yield*  
 Bure, *a chamber, a tower*  
 Burh-waru, *the citizens*  
 Butan, *without*  
 Buterica, *leathern bottles*  
 Bylding, *exaltation*  
 Bylehwit, *modest, sincere*  
 Byliga, *bellows*  
 Bysmore, *shame*  
 Byllian, *to build*

Canst, *knowest*

Canlecapas, *long cloaks*

Child, *a child, a young noble-*

man

Cleasas, *cellars*

Cneow, *the knee*

by Remaldus, for they seem to have been enshrined in *his* time; and, as to *Kinsinus*, abbot *John* expressly points out this site.

“*Jacet tumulatus in Scrinio juxta magnum altare in parte boreali.*”

“And there (says Patrick in 1686,) the shrine still remains, just above that of *Rufficus*, who lies at his feet.”

It has been my wish and endeavour, in this volume, to display the few novelities I had to communicate with as little parade and as little dogmatism as possible; to avoid every appearance of wilful offence; and to dispute nothing without reason: it seemed attainable, because, having no system to serve, I look to nothing but the truth.

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## GLOSSARY.

**Imperative mood.**

**Sing.**

**1st pers.**

2d pers.

**3d pers.**

‘ခမ္ဘာ့

**Infra,**

## Participate, Inland.

•uoynI

‘uoyu]

Կապի, Կապի

of the verbs are infinite, as in our

11

**Bosworth's Grammar is in good repute.**



The verbs *weaxan, beon*, (to be,) make in the *present* tense.

<i>Plur.</i> beoð, aron, &c.	{	<i>Sing.</i> eom, beo, eart, byst, ys, beoð, byth,	1st pers.	3d pers.
			2d pers.	2d pers.
			3d pers.	3d pers.
<i>Past tense.</i>				
<i>Plur.</i> wæron.	{	<i>Sing.</i> wæs. wære, wast, wæs, was,	1st pers.	3d pers.
			2d pers.	2d pers.
			3d pers.	3d pers.
<i>Potential mood : Present tense.</i>				
<i>Plur.</i> synd, syndon.	{	<i>Sing.</i> sy,	1st pers.	3d pers.
			2d pers.	2d pers.
			3d pers.	3d pers.
<i>Lafian</i> (to love). <i>Present tense.</i>				
<i>Plur.</i> lufað.	{	<i>Sing.</i> lufige, lufe, lufast, lufath,	1st pers.	3d pers.
			2d pers.	2d pers.
			3d pers.	3d pers.
<i>Past tense.</i>				
<i>Plur.</i> lufodon.	{	<i>Sing.</i> lufode, lufodest, lufode,	1st pers.	3d pers.
			2d pers.	2d pers.
			3d pers.	3d pers.

The pronoun *Ic* (I).

<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	
we,	Ic,	
ure,	min, mine,	
us.	me,	
	<i>Dat. Acc. &amp; Abl.</i>	

*Thu* (thou).

<i>Nom. &amp; Voc.</i>	thu,	
<i>Gen.</i>	thin, thine,	
<i>Dat. Acc. &amp; Abl.</i>	the,	
	ower,	
	ge,	

These pronouns have also a *dual*:—*wit* (we two),  
&c. *gyt* (ye two), &c.

*Thes* (this).

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	
<i>Mas.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>
thes,	theos,	this,
thises,	thissere,	thises,
. & Abl. thisum,	thissere,	thisum,
	thas,	this.

<i>Nom. &amp; Acc.</i>	thas,	
<i>Gen.</i>	thissere,	
<i>Dat. &amp; Abl.</i>	thisum.	

*He, heo, hit*, (he, she, it.)

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	
he, heo, hit,	hi, hig, hie, hy, heo,	
<i>Nom.</i>	his, hire, his,	
<i>Gen.</i>	hira, beora,	
<i>Dat. &amp; Abl.</i>	him, hire, hit,	
	hine, hi, hit,	
<i>Acc.</i>	hi, hig.	

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is, I go in fear of our masters *the critics* : for, notwithstanding the multitude of new books, *good, bad, and indifferent*, I do not expect that my mistakes will escape without notice. But whilst I am prepared to hear the *worst* of the execution of this book, I would fain deprecate the total condemnation of it, and, as a plea for some consideration, I think it prudent to sum up what I have attempted or done.

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